

A
SUPPLEMENT
TO THE
FIRST BOOK
OF THE
SECOND PART
OF THE
CREDIBILITY
OF THE
GOSPEL HISTORY.

V O L. II.

Containing a History of *St. Paul*, the Evidences of the
Genuineness of his fourteen Epistles, particularly that
to the Hebrews, with the Times when they were writ,
and Remarks upon Them.

By *NATHANIEL LARDNER. D.D.*

The Second Edition.

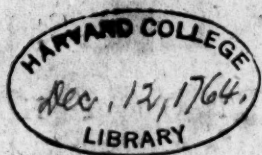
L O N D O N :

Printed for J. BUCKLAND, and W. FENNER, in Pater-noster-row;
J. WAUGH, in Lombard-street; P. DAVY, and B. LAW, in
Ave-mary-lane; and T. FIELD, in Cheap-side. 1760.

~~19,45~~

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<i>Epistles.</i>	<i>Places.</i>	<i>A. D.</i>
Romans.	Corinth.	about February 58.
1 Corinthians.	Ephesus.	begining of 56.
2 Corinthians.	Macedonia.	about October 57.
Galatians.	{ Corinth, or Ephesus.	{ near the end of 52. or the begining of 53.
Ephesians.	Rome.	about April 61.
Philippians.	Rome.	before the end of 62.
Colossians.	Rome.	before the end of 62.
1 Theſſalonians.	{ Corinth.	{ 52.
2 Theſſalonians.	{	{
1 Timothy.	Macedonia.	56.
2 Timothy.	Rome.	about May 61.
Titus.	{ Macedonia, or near it.	{ before the end of 56.
Philemon.	Rome.	before the end of 62.
Hebrews.	{ Rome, or Italic.	{ in the ſpring of 63.

A Table of St. Paul's Epistles, in the order of time, with the places where, and the times, when they were writ.

<i>Epistles.</i>	<i>Places.</i>	<i>A. D.</i>
1 Theſſalonians.	{ Corinth.	{ 52.
2 Theſſalonians.	{	{
Galatians.	{ Corinth, or Ephesus.	{ near the end of 52. or the begining of 53.
1 Corinthians.	Ephesus.	the begining of 56.
1 Timothy.	Macedonia.	56.
Titus.	{ Macedonia, or near it.	{ before the end of 56.
2 Corinthians.	Macedonia.	about October 57.
Romans.	Corinth.	about February 58.
Ephesians.	Rome.	about April 61.
2 Timothy.	Rome.	about May 61.
Philippians.	Rome.	before the end of 62.
Colossians.	Rome.	before the end of 62.
Philemon.	Rome.	before the end of 62.
Hebrews.	{ Rome, or Italic.	{ in the ſpring of 63.

A S U P.



A
SUPPLEMENT
TO THE
FIRST BOOK of the SECOND PART
OF THE
Credibility of the Gospel History.



C H A P. XI.

St. Paul.

- I. *His Historie before his Conversion, and his general Character.* II. *The Time of his Conversion.* III. *Observations upon his Conversion, and the Circumstances of things at that time in Judea.* IV. *His Age at the Time of his Conversion.* V. *When he was made an Apostle.* VI. *The Historie of his Travels, and Preaching: particularly, from the Time of his Conversion and Apostleship to his coming from Damascus to Jerusalem, the first time, after his Conversion.* VII. *From his coming first to Jerusalem to his*
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being brought to Antioch by Barnabas.

66 VIII. to his coming up to Jerusalem with
the Contributions of the Christians at An-

75 tioch. IX. to his coming to the Council at

89 Jerusalem about the year 49. X. to his
coming to Jerusalem with Contributions of
divers Gentil Churches, in the year 58. when

122 he was apprehended, and imprisoned. XI.
to the End of his imprisonment at Rome.

128 XII. to the time of his death.

His Historie
before his
Conversion.

I.  **AUL**, called also *Paul*, by
which name he was generally
called, after his preaching in
Gentil countreys, and, parti-
cularly, (*a*) among Greeks and Romans,
a de-

(*a*) Acts xiii. 9. *Then Saul, who also is called Paul.*] Σαῦ-
λος δὲ ὁ καὶ Παῦλος. Id est, qui ex quo cum Romanis con-
versari coepit, hoc nomine, a suo non abludente, coepit a
Romanis appellari. Sic qui Jesus Judaeis, Graecis Jason :
Hillel, Pollio : . . apud Romanos Silas, Silvanus, ut notavit
Hieronymus. Grot. in Act. xiii. 9.

Hoc primum loco coepit Apostolus a Lucâ Paulus dici,
quem ubique antea Saulum vocavit. Nec deinceps alio, quam
Pauli nomine usquam vocabit. . . Alii igitur Apostolum jam
inde ab initio binominem fuisse putant, ut ex altero nomine
Judaeus, ex altero Romanus civis esse intelligeretur. Alii cum
religione nomen eum mutasse putant, cum ex Phariseo fieret
Christianus. . . . Sunt demum qui a Sergio Paulo Proconsule
ad Christum converso hoc cognomen adeptum esse putent. . .

Ac

a descendent of the Patriarch *Abraham*, one of God's ancient chosen people of *Israel*, of the tribe of *Benjamin*, was (b) a native of *Tarsus*, then the chief city of *Cilicia*. He was also by birth a (c) Citizen of *Rome*. How he became entitled to that privilege, has been distinctly shewn (d) in another place. His father (e) was a Pharisee, and himself was of the same sect. He had a sister, whose son was a Christian, and a discreet person, who (f) was of great service to his uncle *Paul*, when a prisoner at *Jerusalem*. His conduct cannot be thought of without admiration and gratitude. Some other of his relations are mentioned by him in his epistle to the *Romans*, who also were believers in Jesus, and several of them had been so before himself. Which may be reckoned a proof of the virtue and piety of this familie. Their names are *Andronicus*,

B 2

and

Ac facile mihi quidem persuadeo, primum a Proconsulis Romani familiâ ita vocari coepisse. Bez. Annot. in Act. xiii. 9.

See likewise Dr. Doddridge's Family-Expositor. Vol. 3. p. 198. note (k). or upon Acts xiii. 9.

(b) Acts. xxi. 39. xxii. 3.

(c) Acts. xvi. 37. 38. xxii. 25. . . 29. xxiii. 27.

(d) See the Credibility &c. P. i. B. i. ch. x. §. vii.

(e) Acts. xxiii. 6. xxvi. 5. Philip. iii. 5.

(f) Acts. xxiii. 16. . . 22.

and *Junia*, whom he calls *his kinsmen*. συγγενεῖς μὲν. Rom. xvi. 7. By (g) which he must mean something more, than their being his countreymen. He speaks in the like manner of *Herodion*, ver. 11. and also of *Lucius*, *Jason*, and *Sosipater*, ver. 21. It may be reckoned very probable, that (A) he was educated in Greek literature in his early life at *Tarsus*. It is certain, that (b) he

(g) *Cognatos suos*, id est ejusdem secum generis vocat, ut multi exponunt, quia Judaei erant, quemadmodum supra ix. 3. de Judaeis in universum dixit, *qui sunt cognati mei secundum carnem*: et sic eum loqui, ut Judaeorum qui Romae erant gratiam sibi conciliet. Verum quia multi Romae erant Judaei Christiani, et proinde hac generali ratione Paulo cognati: idcirco putant alii, cognatos hic dici magis proprie, ut qui fuerint Paulo contribules, id est, de tribu Benjamin: aut forte etiam proprio sanguinis vinculo conjuncti. *Est. in Rom. xvi. 7.*

(A) This may be argued from the place of his nativity, *Tarsus*, which was celebrated for polite literature, and from *St. Paul's* quotations of several Greek Poets. Acts xviii. 28. 1 Cor. xv. 33. Tit. i. 12. Dr. Bently begins his third sermon at *Boyle's* Lecture, which is the second upon Acts xvii. 27. 28. in this manner: "I have said enough in my last, to shew the fitness and pertinence of the Apostle's discourse . . . and that he did not talk at random, but was thoroughly acquainted with the several humours and opinions of his auditors. And, as *Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians*, so it is manifest from this chapter alone, if nothing else had been now extant, that *St. Paul* was a great master in all the learning of the *Greeks*."

(b) *Acts. xxii. 3.*

he was for a while under the instructions of *Gamaliel*, at *Jerusalem*, a celebrated Jewish Rabbi, and that (i) he made great proficiency in the studie of the law, and the traditions, much esteemed by that people. He seems to have been (k) a person of great natural abilities, of a quick apprehension, strong passions, and firm resolution, and thereby qualified for signal service, as a teacher of such principles, as he should embrace, whatever they were. He appears likewise to have been always unblamable in his life, and strictly faithful to the dictates of his conscience, according to the knowledge, which he had. Of this all must be persuaded, who observe (l) his appeals to the Jews, upon this head, when they were greatly offended with him : and from (m) the undissembled satisfaction, which he expresseth upon a serious recollection of his former and later conduct. For some while, after the first appearance of Christianity in

B 3

the

(i) *Acts*. xxii. 3. xxvi. 5. *Gal*. i. 14.

(k) . . . secta Phariseum, excellenti magnoque ingenio praeditum, literarum Judaicarum inprimis peritum, nec Graecarum expertem. *J. L. Mosheim. de Reb. Christian. ante Constantin.* Sec. i. n. xv. p. 80.

(l) *Acts*. xxiii. 1. xxvi. 4. 5.

(m) *Philip*. iii. 6. 1. *Tim*. i. 13. 2. *Tim*. i. 3.

the world, he was a bitter enemy, and furious opposer of all who made profession of it. Nevertheless he persisted not long in that course: but was in a very extraordinary manner converted to that faith himself: and ever after he was a steady friend, and zealous advocate for it, and very successful in defending, and propagating it, diligently improving the gifts and qualifications, extraordinarily vouchsafed him for that purpose. These things are recorded in those writings, which are in the highest esteem, and reckoned sacred among Christians, and indeed are well known to all the world.

*The Time
of his Con-
version.*

II. I am desirous to do my best to settle the time of *St. Paul's* conversion. If we can do that with some good degree of probability, we shall attain to a near knowledge of the time of *St. Stephen's* martyrdom: concerning both which events there have been very different opinions in former and later ages. *Valesius*, in his Annotations upon *Eusebe's Ecclesiastical Historie*, mentions divers opinions of ancient writers (*n*) about the time

(*n*) Quo anno Stephanus martyrii coronam adeptus sit, non convenit inter omnes. Alii eodem anno, quo passus est Christus,

time of St. *Stephen's* death. As the passage may be acceptable to some, I have placed it below.

Among moderns, *Cave* thought, that (o) *Stephen* was stoned, and *Paul* converted in the very year of our Lord's ascension, the year 33. or the begining of the year following. *Pearson* supposeth, that (p) *Stephen* was stoned in 34. and *Paul* converted in 35. near the end of the year. Having been three years in *Arabia*, and at *Damascus*, he came to *Jerusalem*, near the end of 38. in which year, or the begining of the following, he went to *Tarsus* : where, and in *Syria*, he was four years, that is, 39. 40. 41. 42. Which appears to me a long space

B 4

of

Christus, lapidatum illum volunt. Ita diserte scribitur in Excerptis Chronologicis, quae cum Eusebii Chronico edidit Scaliger. pag. 68. Et haec videtur fuisse Eusebii sententia, ut ex hoc loco apparet. . . . Alii vero triennio post Christi mortem martyrium Stephani retulerunt. . . . Ita scribit in Chronico Georgius Syncellus. Multi etiam ulterius processerunt, et Stephanum anno ab ordinatione sua septimo passum esse scripserunt. Inter quos est Evodius apud Nicephorum, et Hippolytus Thebanus, et auctor Chronici Alexandrini, qui anno Claudii primo martyrium Stephani adsignat. *Vales. Annot. in Euseb. l. 2. cap. i.*

(o) . . ad fidem Christi conversus, discipulus sit et Apostolus A. C. 33. exeunte, vel saltem ineunte proximo. *Hist. Lit. T. i. in S. Paulo.*

(p) *Annal. Paulin. p. 1. . . 4.*

of time. In 43. he came to *Antioch*. And having spent a year there, he came to *Jerusalem*, in 44. So *Pearson*.

Frederic Spanheim, who also has bestowed great pains in examining this point, placeth (q) the conversion of *Paul* in the year 40. the last of *Caius Caligula* : and was inclined to defer it to the first of *Claudius*, the year 41. Him (r) *Witsius* follows. And *J. A. Fabricius* (s) declares his assent to the same opinion.

Lenfant and *Beaufobre*, in their general preface to *St. Paul's Epistles*, place his conversion in the year 36. and his first coming to *Jerusalem* after it, in 39. Which opinion I believe to be nearer the truth, than any of the foregoing.

There is an event mentioned in the *Acts*, about which we may receive light from external historie. I mean *the rest of the churches throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria*. *Acts ix. 31.*

In

(q) . . in anno conversionis Pauli, quam non anteriorem esse Caii ultimo, audacter pronunciamus. *De Conversion. Paulin. Epocha. num. xix. Opp. T. 2. p. 321.*

(r) *De Vita Pauli. Sect. ii. n. 22. ap. Miletum. Leyd. p. 34.*

(s) Tantum noto in praesenti, me sequi eorum rationes, qui Paulum conversum esse existimant anno quarto sive ultimo Caii. ann. 40. et capite truncatum A. C. 68. Neronis xiv. *Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. 3. p. 151. (f).*

In the former Part of this work (*t*) it was shewn to be very probable, that this *rest of the churches* of Christ was owing to the state of things in *Judea*, when *Petronius*, President of *Syria*, published the orders, which he had received from *Caius*, to erect his statue in the temple of *Jerusalem*, in the year of Christ 39. or 40. Which account was afterwards followed by Dr. *Benson* in his (*u*) *Historie* of the first planting the Christian Religion. Dr. *Doddridge* (*x*) likewise declared his approbation of it.

When I formerly argued, that this rest of the churches was occasioned by the above mentioned order of the Emperour *Caius*; I did not know, that any one had assigned that, as the occasion of it. But since, I have perceived, that (*y*) *S. Basnage* had

(*t*) See *Credib. P. i. B. i. ch. 2. §. xii. especially near the end of that section.*

(*u*) See of that work *B. i. ch. 9. sect. iii. at the end.*

(*x*) *Family-Expositor. Vol. 3. p. 147.*

(*y*) *Mira haec, et praeter omnium expectationem exortarum vicissitudo fuit. Cui non minimum contulit infelix Judaeorum status, quibus a Caligula vexatis, timentibusque templi violationem Petronio mandatam, Christi discipulorum persecutioni vacare non licuit. Cum enim constituendae ecclesiarum paci saepenumero Dei sapientia occasionibus utatur, atque humanis auxiliis; probabilis utique affertur conjectura, eo sopitum fuisse Judaeorum furorem, quia propriis pressi miseriis*
ab

had thought of it, and spoke to it very well. I was lead to my observations by reading *Philo*, and *Josephus* : from whom I formed the argument, and overlooked the just mentioned ecclesiastical historian.

I supposed, that (z) *Petronius* published his order in the year 39. or 40. *Basnage* (a) and *Tillemont* (b) say, in the year 40. By whom I am not unwilling to be determined.

It is allowed, that *Petronius* was sent Governour into *Syria* by *Caius* in the third year of his reign, A. D. 39. And it is supposed by some, that (c) *Petronius* came into the province about autumn in the year 39. And *Josephus* says, “ that (d) *Caius*, greatly in-
“ censed

ab inferenda Ecclesiae calamitate prohibebantur. . . Nec inopinatae tranquillitatis aptior ulla ratio reddi potest. *Ann.* 40. num. xvi.

(z) See the place referred to at note (t) p. 9.

(a) *Ubi supra.* num. v.

(b) *Ruine des Juifs.* art. xviii, xix. *Hist. des Emp. Tom. i.*

(c) Sed ex *Josephi* historia constat, illum in provinciam anno tertio *Caii* advenisse, circa autumnum. *Noris. Cenot. Pisan. Diff.* 2. p. 371. *Conf. Usser. Ann.* 39.

(d) Γαίος δὲ ἐν δειῶ φέρων, εἰς τόσον δε ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων περι-
ῶσθαι μόνων, πρεσβυτὴν ἐπὶ συρίας ἐκπέμπει πατρώσιον. . .
κελεύειν χειρὶ πολλῇ ἐσβάλλουσι εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, εἰ μὲν ἔκον-
τες δέχονται, ἴσῃ αὐτῶν ἀνδριάντα ἐν τῷ ναῶ τῆ θεῆς· εἰ
δ' ἀγνωμοσύνη χρώντο, πολέμῳ κρατήσαντα τέτο ποιεῖν.
Antiq. l. 18. cap. ix. n. 2. al. cap. xi.

“ censed against the Jews for not paying him
“ the same respect that others did, sent *Petronius* Governour into Syria, command-
“ ing him to set up his statue in the temple :
“ and if the Jews opposed it, to march into
“ the countrey with a numerous armie, and
“ effect it by force.”

Whenever *Petronius* published that order, whether in the year 39. or 40. I think, it was the occasion of the tranquillity of the churches of Christ, spoken of by St. *Luke*. And I persuade my-self, that most people will readily be of the same opinion.

We will now take a paragraph or two in the Acts. ch. ix. 26. . . 31. *And when Saul was come to Jerusalem, he assayed to join himself to the disciples. . . . And he was with them, coming in, and going out, at Jerusalem. And he spoke boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed against the Grecians. But they went about to slay him. Which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Cesarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus. Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified.*

This rest, we may suppose, was not compleat, or made extensive and universal, till the

the year 40. perhaps, not till near the middle of it. But when did *Paul* come to *Jerusalem*? Before this *rest*? or, not till after it was commenced? *Basnage* (e) thinks, that *Paul* came to *Jerusalem* in the year 40. Let us however make a few remarks.

The *peace*, of which we are speaking, seems not to have commenced, nor the persecution to have ceased, when *Paul* arrived at *Jerusalem* from *Damascus*. For when he spake boldly in the name of the Lord *Jesus*, and disputed with the *Grecians*, they went about to slay him: as we have seen in the paragraph, just transcribed. And the brethren found it needful to conduct him with care to *Cesarea*, and send him thence to *Tarsus*. Moreover, *Peter* was at *Jerusalem*, when *Paul* arrived there, and he abode with him fifteen days. Gal. i. 18. But when the peace of the churches was established, *Peter* left *Jerusalem*, and visited the saints in the several parts of *Judea*: as we learn from the historie, immediatly following. Acts ix. 31. . . 43. Once more, it appears from the above cited paragraph, and the course of St. *Luke's* narration, that this rest of the churches

(e) *Ann.* 40. num. xv.

churches in *Judea* did not begin, untill after *Paul* had been sent thence. And if it had commenced sooner, in all probability, he would have been induced to stay longer there among the Jews, for whose conversion he was ardently concerned. *St. Luke's* words are, as above: *Which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Cesarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus. Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified.*

I apprehend it to be probable, then, that *Paul* came to *Jerusalem*, at this season, near the end of the year 39. or in the beginning of the year 40. We now proceed.

St. Paul says *Gal. i. 15. . . 18.* that *when it pleased God by his grace to reveal his Son in him, . . . he went into Arabia, and returned again unto Damascus. Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem, to see Peter.* For the time of *Paul's* conversion therefore, we must look back *three years*. And if those *three years* are to be understood compleat, and he came to *Jerusalem* in the year 40. he was converted not long after the beginning of the year 37. where it is placed by (f) *Basnage*.

If

(f) *Ann. 37. n. 48.*

If he came to *Jerusalem* before the end of the year 39. he might be converted near the end of the year 36.

Let me add. *Paul* says : *after (g) three years I went up to Jerusalem.* Which may be well understood to mean somewhat more than three years. And then, though *Paul* should be supposed, not to have returned to *Jerusalem*, till the beginning of the year 40. he may have been converted before the end of the year 36.

Shall we now look somewhat farther back, and inquire, how long this might be after the death of *Stephen*? *Lewis Cappell (b)* and *Fr. Spanheim (i)* supposed, that two years passed between the death of *Stephen* and *Paul's* conversion. And for certain there was some good space of time between *Stephen's* martyrdom, and *Paul's* journey to *Damascus*. This appears from *St. Luke's* historie, who says Acts vii. 58. *And they cast Stephen*

(g) . . . μετὰ ἔτη τρία.

(b) Porro interim . . . Saulus, qui Stephani morti confenserat, cum per biennium Ecclesiam Dei Jerosolymis vastasset. . . . *Lud. Capp. Hist. Apost. p. 7.*

(i) Ex dictis constare arbitramur . . . rursus anni minimum unius decursum, si non verius biennii (quale et *Lud. Cappellus* post Danaeum nostrum, aliosque, statuit :) a caede hujus ad Sauli profectionem Damascenam supponendum esse. *Spanb. Diff. de convers. Paulin. Epoch. n. xx.*

Stephen out of the city, and stoned him. And the witnesses laid down their cloths at a young man's feet, whose name was Saul. . . It follows in ch. viii. 1. . . 4. And Saul was consenting unto his death. At that time there was a great persecution against the church, which was at Jerusalem. And they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the Apostles. . . As for Saul, he made havock of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women, committed them to prison. After which at ver. 5. . . 40. is an account of the preaching of those who were scattered abroad, particularly, of Philip's going to the city Samaria, and preaching there with great success, and of the Apostles, who were at Jerusalem, hearing of this, and sending to Samaria Peter and John : and then, how Philip taught and baptized the Chamberlain of Candace, Queen of Ethiopia. After which Philip preached in all the cities from Azotus, till he came to Cesarea by the sea side. Still Saul was a persecutor. For it follows ch. ix. 1. 2. And Saul, yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went unto the High-Priest. And de-
fired

fired of him letters to Damascus, to the synagogues : that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound to Jerusalem. To all which might be added, that *Paul's* ill treatment of the disciples at *Jerusalem* was well known at *Damascus*, before he arrived there, as appears from *Acts ix. 13.*

Nevertheless I do not think, that there is sufficient reason to protract this space so long as two years : but would hope, it might be reduced within the compasse of a year, and perhaps to little more than half a year. So thought *Basnage*. Who (*k*) therefore placeth the martyrdom of *Stephen* and the baptism of *Paul* in one and the same year.

I am the more inclined to think, that *Paul's* course of opposition against the believers did not exceed the space of a year, at the utmost : because it seems to have been confined to the city of *Jerusalem*, untill he undertook to go to *Damascus*, and did not reach into the cities of *Judea* and *Samaria*. This will lead us to place the martyrdom of *Stephen* in the year 36. and not far from the begining of it, or else near the end of the year 35.

Indeed

(*k*) *A. D. 37. num. 48.*

Indeed that is a very likely season, and much confirmed by the state of things in *Judea* about this time, as distinctly represented by us long ago in the first Part of this work, when we treated of affairs and persons, occasionally mentioned in the books of the New Testament. It was then shewn, that (1) *Pontius Pilate* was removed from his government in *Judea*, before the Passover of the year 36. probably, five or six months before that Passover, in September or October, A. D. 35. about a year and half before the death of *Tiberius*. It was also shewn, that (m) after the removal of *Pilate*, no Governour, or Procurator, with the right of the sword, or the power of life and death, was sent into *Judea*, neither in the remaining part of the reign of *Tiberius*, nor in the reign of *Caius*. Which (n) afforded the Jews an opportunity to be licentious, and to do many things, which otherwise they could not have done, and to be extremely troublesome to the disciples of Jesus.

(1) See Part. i. B. 2. ch. 3. §. iii. p. 848. the third edition.

(m) See P. i. B. i. ch. 2. §. xii. p. 177... 185. the third edition.

(n) See there p. 199. the third edition.

Thus then *Paul* was converted in 37. or possibly, before the end of the year 36. And *Stephen* was stoned in the begining of the same year, or, at the soonest, near the end of the year 35.

Observations upon his Conversion.

III. Having distinctly considered these things, and produced such probable evidence, as offers, I beg leave, to mention several observations.

1. The persecution, which began at the death of *Stephen*, continued four years.

The disciples of Jesus, as appears from the first chapters of the book of the Acts, were much harassed by the Jewish Council from the begining. But now, after *Stephen* was stoned, a more open and violent persecution came on, which †† lasted a good while. I am not able to assign a more likely time for

†† Here I transcribe a passage from *Lightfoot's* Commentarie upon the Acts ch. ix. 27. of his Works vol. i. p. 815. " And thus, says he, that persecution, that began about *Stephen*, had lasted till this very same time of *Paul's* coming to *Jerusalem*. For, so it is apparent, both by the fear and suspiciousness of the disciples at *Jerusalem*, as also by the clau- sure of the text ver. 31. *Then had the churches rest*. The length of this persecution, by the computation of the times, as they have been cast up before, seemeth to have been about three years and a half."

for the commencement of it, than the beginning of the year 36. or the later part of the year 35. about which time *Pilate* was removed, after his government had been for some good while very feeble among the Jews. The same persecution reached into the year of our Lord 40. the fourth and last year of the reign of *Caius* : when *Petronius* published the orders, which he had received, to set up the Emperour's statue in the temple at *Jerusalem*. Which threw the Jewish People, throughout all that countrey, into a general consternation, and fully employed them about their own affairs.

It seems to me therefore, from this calculation, that the persecution lasted, at least, four years. To which might be added, that it must have begun about a year before *Paul's* conversion, after which he was three years in *Arabia*. And when he returned to *Jerusalem*, the persecution was not at an end. Nor did the peace of the churches come on, till after he had been sent away from *Judea* to *Tarsus*.

2. Notwithstanding the violence, and the length of this persecution, the Church of Christ was not diminished, but encreased, during that period.

This may be argued from the description of the peace, which succeeded it. Acts ix. 31. 32. *Then had the churches rest, throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified. . . . And it came to pass, as Peter passed through all quarters, he came to the saints, which dwelt at Lydda.* Now therefore there were churches in Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria. And I make no question, but most, or all of them, were planted during those troublesome times. For before that period we read not of any churches out of Jerusalem. And St. Paul, speaking of some things, after his conversion, and his return to Jerusalem, says Gal. i. 22. *he was unknown by face to the churches of Judea, which were in Christ.*

This encrease of converts in those countries might be owing to several things: the patience and fortitude of the disciples: their discretion in avoiding needless offense, and in declining dangers: their zeal and intrepidity in asserting the resurrection of Jesus, and other articles of the doctrine of the gospel: the miraculous powers, with which they were endowed, and their exerting them on all fit occasions.

It

It might be also, in part, owing to the circumstances of things. For a while, as it seems, this persecution was confined to *Jerusalem*, and did not extend to other parts of *Judea*. So says St. *Luke* Acts viii. 1. *At that time there was a great persecution against the church, which was at Jerusalem. Paul's injuries were confined there, till he went to Damascus. He speaks not of any thing done by him against the disciples of Jesus any where else. Acts xxvi. 10. 11. Which thing I also did in Jerusalem. . . . and being exceedingly mad against them, I persecuted them even unto strange cities. Whereupon as I went to Damascus.*

The persecution became more extensive afterwards. As may be gathered from those words of St. *Luke*, just cited : *Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria. Wherein it is implied, that the believers in those countreys had been disturbed : though, perhaps, the persecution was not there so violent, as in Jerusalem, and near it.*

But so long as *Paul* continued in his course of opposition, the persecution either was confined to *Jerusalem*, or was not very

violent in many other parts, if in any. This may be evidently concluded from Acts viii. 1. *And they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea, and Samaria, except the Apostles.* Many of the disciples therefore, who left Jerusalem, found shelter in Judea, and Samaria. This was soon after the death of Stephen, and before Paul went to Damascus. Yea it is added ver. 4. 5. *Therefore they that were scattered abroad, went every where, preaching the word. Then Philip went down to the city of Samaria, and preached Christ unto them.* And what follows to ver. 40. clearly shewing the truth of what we are now arguing.

Moreover, it should be remembred, that the Jewish Council had not the power of life and death. The death of Stephen therefore was irregular, and tumultuous. That no others suffered in a like manner during this period, I would not say: considering the great concisenesse of St. Luke's historie, and what St. Paul says Acts xxvi. 10. *And when they were put to death, I gave my voice against them.* But if any, beside Stephen, were put to death, I apprehend, not many, and those of lower rank only, none of a station in the Church,

Church, equal to that of *Stephen*. The Roman Officers in *Judea* did not joyn in any part of this persecution. They had no orders so to do. And if the Jewish Council had assumed authority to put men to death, it would have been complained of, and they would soon have been checked.

If the Jewish Council had had the power of life and death for these four years, it would indeed have gone very hard with the Christian interest, throughout the whole countrey of *Judea*: the number of believers would have been much lessened: nor could any new converts have been made. Such a persecution the Church was not able to endure in it's very infance.

In like manner, a four years persecution by *Herod Agrippa* would have extirpated it. All the believers in general must have perished, throughout the whole extent of his dominions, without safety to any, but those who escaped into other countreys. When therefore that proud and bigoted Prince, (whom we allow to have had supreme power throughout all the land of *Israel*;) began to persecute the Church, and had slain *James*, and imprisoned *Peter*;

Providence interposed, and miraculously delivered *Peter* out of prison. And that Prince not observing the hand of God therein, nor being intimidated thereby : as appears from his ordering the innocent guards to be immediately executed : and growing still more and more proud and arrogant, he fell under the hand of God himself. Of whose death, soon after, St. *Luke* has left an affecting historie, ch. xii. 19. . . . 23. confirmed also by (o) *Josephus*.

3. The first notice, which we have of *Paul*, is in the account of *Stephen's* martyrdom. And it seems likely, that he had not long before made his appearance in the world.

And, if we consider *Paul's* situation and circumstances, we shall discern the proper vindication of his moral character. It may be reckoned probable, that he had not seen Jesus in the time of his abode on this earth. Possibly, he did not come to *Judea* from *Tarsus*, till after the period of our Lord's ministrise. It may be likewise supposed, that he had not a personal acquaintance with any of Christ's Apostles, nor seen any miracles done

(o) See the first Part of this work. B. i. ch. i. §. vi.

done by them, before he became a persecutor. And after that, he would not admit of instruction from the followers of Jesus. However, it is not improbable, that he saw the splendour of *Stephen's* countenance before the Jewish Council. Acts vi. 15. as well as was witness of the wonderful patience and meekness of his death. ch. vii. 55. . . . 59. But then, as may be well supposed, he was not only prejudiced, but enraged. See ver. 54. 57. and ch. xxvi. 11.

How long he had been in *Judea*, and under the tuition of *Gamaliel*, cannot be certainly said. But it is well known, that students, whilst under the government of tutors, are strictly guarded, and much restrained. None less acquainted with what is done in the world, than they. Among the ancients, especially, students of the Law and Philosophie, were required to pay a strict regard to their masters instructions, and theirs only. It may be supposed, then, that *Paul*, so long as he was with *Gamaliel*, knew little of the public affairs of *Judea*, though he was in that countrey. Coming from the schools, animated with an earnest zeal for the law of Moses, and all its peculiarities, and for the tradi-

traditions of the Elders: and finding a number of men, called followers of Jesus of *Nazareth*, whom they spake of as the Messiah, and raised from the dead, and greater than Moses himself: he was filled with indignation, and thought, he was obliged to oppose them to the utmost. Which he did, till Jesus met him, and reclaimed him. It is not unlikely, that he conceived of them, as the deluded followers of an impostor, like others that appeared in *Judea* about that time, and therefore deserving of no regard for any wise men.

Paul says, among other humbling considerations, that he was *injurious*. 1. Tim. i. 13. And he has mentioned several instances of it. Acts xxvi. 10. But even then, as we may well suppose, he would not have injured any man in his person, or property, from worldly considerations. In what he did against the followers of Jesus he was not acted by envie, malice, covetousness, or any worldly view. It was a false zeal for God and religion, by which he was induced to be a persecutor. Which in some persons, and in some circumstances, is consistent with integrity. It is very likely to have been

so in *Paul*, a young man, little acquainted with the world, and just come fresh from the studie of the Law, and the Rabbinical interpretations of it. *Chrysostom* makes this difference between *Paul* and the Jews. He (*p*) had a sincere zeal for religion, according to his knowledge at that time. They had no concern for the welfare of *Jerusalem*, and aimed at nothing but their own honour.

All this has been said for shewing, that *Paul* was sincere in what he had done, and that he did not act contrarie to conviction. But †† he cannot be justified. He should have examined. He should have taken care to be well informed. If, when he first came abroad in the world, and met with those who professed faith in Jesus, as the Messiah, he had inquired into the grounds of their persuasion: if he had attentively observed, whether they wrought any miracles, like those of Moses, and the ancient Prophets,

recorded

(*p*) Οὗτος μὲν ἐν οὕτως ἐποίει, οὐχ ὡς ἰερεῖς· μὴ γένοιτο. Ὅτι γὰρ ζήλω ἐποίει, δῆλον ἐκ τῆ εἰς τὰς ἑξω πόλεις ἀπέναι· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οὔτε καὶ τῶν ἱεροσολύμοις ἐφρόντισαν· ἀλλ' ἐνὸς ἐγένοντο μόνου τῆ τιμῆς ἀπολαύειν. In *Act. Ap. hom.* 19. T. 9. p. 155. D.

†† See Dr. Doddridge upon 1 *Tim.* i. 13. note (*b*) *Family Expositor.* Vol. 5. p. 443.

recorded in the Old Testament : if he had attended to the prophecies concerning the Messiah, which they alleged, for shewing, that the character of Jesus was answerable to them, and that they were fulfilled in him ; he might have received satisfaction, and might have been prevented from acting that part against Jesus, and his disciples, which he afterwards bewailed.

But prejudices are very strong in some. They were so in this young man. Persuaded of the divine original of the law, and of the importance of the traditions of the Elders, in which he had been lately instructed, and which he had received, and held, as a most valuable branch of science, he had a sovereign contempt for this new sect, and was of opinion, that nothing could be said by them, which deserved consideration.

Such were his prejudices, that they were not to be overcome in an ordinary way. Without something more than common, to awaken his attention, he was in danger to have proceeded much farther in the wrong course, which he was in.

But though *Paul* was greatly prejudiced, he was not obstinate. The Lord Jesus saw this.

this. He knew *Paul* to be tractable, and open to conviction. Otherwise, he would not have met him in the way to *Damascus*, as he did: nor would he have called to him: *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?* But he well knew, that those words, together with the glorie of the appearance surrounding him, would change his heart, and melt him down to readie obedience.

Openness to conviction is a most necessary disposition in such weak, ignorant, fallible, sinful creatures, as we are. Without it there can be no alteration for the better: no change of error for truth, or vice for virtue. Of the conceited and obstinate there is no hope. But they who are attentive to reason and argument, and are willing to be determined by evidence, may do great things. Of ignorant they may become knowing. Instead of being erroneous, they may have just sentiments. And they will proceed from one measure of knowledge and virtue to another, till they attain to great perfection in both.

This was *Paul's* disposition. It is very manifest in him. With what enmity against the disciples of Jesus he set out for *Damascus*,

cus, and how soon he was changed, the historie shews. And as he journeyed, he came near to Damascus. And suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven. And he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him : Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me ? Acts ix. 3. . . . 6. Whereupon he trembles, and acquiesces. All his rage is subdued, and he becomes a disciple of Jesus.

Upon occasion of an abuse, which he received from the High-Priest, before whom he stood, he expressed himself with rather too much warmth and resentment. But having been admonished of it by those who stood by, he answers with great mildnesse : *I wist not, I did not consider, brethren, that it was the High-Priest. For it is written : Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people. Acts xxiii. 1. . . . 5.*

He was once offended with *John Mark*, because he declined a service, which he thought reasonable to be performed. Acts xiii. 13. xv. 38. But he was afterwards reconciled to him, and desired his companie : persuaded, that he would be *profitable to him for the ministrie. 2. Tim. iv. 11.*

So much did this temper prevail in him, and so reasonable and beneficial did it appear

pear to him, that he thought, no men could be destitute of it, and that all men must be willing to hearken, and to yield to evidence. This we perceive from what he says, Acts xxii. 17. . . 21. *When I was come again to Jerusalem, I was in a transe, and saw him saying unto me : Make haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem. For they will not receive thy testimonie concerning me. And I said : Lord, they know, that I imprisoned, and beat in every synagogue them that believed on thee. . . And he said unto me : Depart. For I will send thee far hence unto the Gentils.* He imagined, that an account of his conversion, who once was so opposite, and the reasons of it, if fairly laid before them, must persuade them. But Jesus, who knew the hearts of all men, saw, that the people of *Judea* were so hardened, that nothing would work upon them. Instead therefore of laboring unprofitably among them, the Lord renewed his orders to *Paul*, without delay, to proceed in the work of preaching to Gentils, as he had already begun to do.

4. It was very gracious in the Lord Jesus, to call to *Paul* at the time he did, and not to suffer him to continue any longer in his career

career of rash, and inconsiderate, and injurious zeal, without controule. As yet he was tender, and tractable. Afterwards he might have been hardened: or, upon conviction, he might have sunk into despair.

5. We have reason to think, that there was an over-ruling providence in disposing the person and concerns of *Paul* about this time, as well as in the other parts of his life.

He reflects with gratitude, that *God had separated him from his mother's womb, and called him by his grace.* Gal. i. 15. There was great wisdom, as well as goodnesse, in the season of his call, as just shewn.

It was likewise a very happie and favorable circumstance, that he did not return into *Judea*, presently after his conversion: forasmuch as the violent persecution, which began about the time of *Stephen's* death, had continued at least three years after *Paul* left *Judea*, to go to *Damascus*.

It was also well for him, that he was out of *Judea*, during the three or four years reign of *Herod Agrippa*, when he was King of all *Israel*. It was, indeed, owing to a violent onset of the *Grecians*, as they are called, that the disciples were induced to convey

vey him to *Cesarea*, and send him forth to *Tarsus*, Acts ix. 29. 30. But it was overruled for his good. By this means he was out of *Judea*, during the reign of that proud and cruel Prince: which appears to have been a troublesome time to the followers of Jesus in that countrey, till near the end it broke out into the greatest violence. As we learn from the historie in the twelfth chapter of the Acts.

IV. What was *Paul's* age at the time of his conversion, is not certain. *Witfius* supposeth, that (q) he was born near the end of *Herod's* reign, about the same time with our Saviour. It is observable, that in the epistle to *Philemon* ver. 9. writ about the year of the vulgar aera 62. he calls himself *Paul the aged*. Which, I think, must lead us to suppose, that he was then sixty years of age, or not much less.

*His Age at
the Time of
his Con-
version.*

(q) At in neutram vastationem incidit pueritia Pauli, quem natum esse oportet circa mortem Herodis. Quod ita conficitur. Ipse se *senem* fuisse docet, quando evangelii causa vinc-tus Romae detinebatur a Nerone. Philem. comm. 9. Ne-que tamen admodum senex eo tempore fuit, quum *veritas* dicatur in martyrio Stephani. Unde necesse est, ejusdem pro-pemodum cum Christo aetatis fuisse. *De Vita Pauli. Sect. i. n. iii.*

In the account of the martyrdom of *Stephen* he is called *a young man*. Acts vii. 58. But it is well known, that among the ancients the word *youth* is used with latitude. Some things said of him about that time may induce us to think him arrived to years of maturity, or discretion. For he seems to have been one of the principal agents in the persecution of the believers after the death of *Stephen* : and to have been entrusted by the Jewish rulers in carrying it on. As he says to King *Agrippa*. Acts xxvi. 10. *Which thing I also did in Jerusalem. And many of the saints did I shut up in prison, having received authority from the Chief Priests.* And it is well known, being (r) again and again related, that he had a commission from the High-Priest, when he went to *Damascus*. And it is also mentioned afterwards in the farther account of himself to *Agrippa*. ver. 12. *Whereupon, as I went to Damascus with authority and commission from the Chief Priests.* . . . And there were several others with him at the same time, who may be supposed to have been officers under him. All which shews the regard, that was paid to him.

Mr.

(r) See Acts ix. 1. 2. 14. xxii. 8.

Mr. *Biscoe* (*s*) thinks, that before his conversion *Paul* had been ordained Elder, or Rabbi, or Doctor. And he supposeth, that this may enable us to account for *Paul's* being never excommunicated by the Jews. "It may seem strange to some, says he, that *St. Paul* was not excommunicated by the Jews, after he turned Christian. For *St. John* tells us ch. ix. 22. *the Jews had agreed, that if any man did confess, that Jesus was the Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue.* *St. Paul*, notwithstanding, entred boldly into their synagogues, wherever he came, and preached, that *Jesus* was the Christ. He was often scourged by them. 2 Cor. xi. 24. But we no where read of his being excommunicated. The Talmud explains this to us: forasmuch as thence it is abundantly evident, that they were very backward to excommunicate the disciples of the Wise, the Doctors and Teachers of the law."

Whether that be certain, or not, I think it may be inferred from what was before said, that at the time of his conversion *Paul* was of an age, when men are able to judge

D 2

of

(*s*) *The History of the Acts confirmed.* p. 269. 270.

of the evidence of things, and to form a reasonable determination concerning their future conduct.

*When he
was made
an Apostle?*

V. It may be now fit for us, before we proceed any farther, to consider, when *Paul* became an Apostle.

It has generally been the opinion of learned men, that *Paul* was called to the apostleship, at the time that he was converted, or very soon after. So says (t) *Spanheim*, and (u) *Witsius*, who follows him. So likewise say divers others, who also have carefully considered this point, particularly (x) *Cave*, (y) *Pearson*, (z) *Basnage*. To whom I must add

(t) Id vero ante omnia in disquisitionis hujus limine supponimus : idem omnino esse tempus vocationis Paulinae ad apostolatam, quod fuit ad Christum, annum adeo eundem utriusque ac mensem. *Spanh. ubi supra. §. iv. p. 314.*

(u) Quo tempore ad Christianismum, eodem ad Apostolatam vocatus est Paulus. *Actor. ix. 15. xxiii. 15. xxvi. 17. &c. Wits. de Vit. Pauli. Sect. ii. num. xxi.*

(x) See before note (o) p. 7.

(y) Tiberii 22. A. D. 36. Saulus in Arabia moratur, ubi per Revelationem accepit plenam a Deo notitiam evangelii, ad quod praedicandum immediate vocatus est.

... A. D. 37. Saulus ex Arabia redit Damascum, satis in officio per revelationem instructus. *Pearson. Ann. Paulin. p. 2.*

(z) His peractis, Paulus relicta Damasco, in vicina loca aliquantisper secessit, ut ab ipso Christo ἀμείνων institueretur, quod

add my late much valued friend (a) Mr. Hallett. Who in his Discourse on Ordination had occasion to consider Acts xiii. 2. 3. as well as some other texts.

That *Paul* was now made an Apostle, and fully instructed for preaching the gospel, is evident from the account of his conversion given by the Evangelist (b) *Luke*, and from all the accounts, which he gives of himself in his discourses in *Judea*, to (c) the Jewish
D 3 People,

quod et ipse tradit. Gal. i. 15... 17. In eo igitur recessu non ab hominibus edoctus est, sed ab ipso Christo per revelationem didicit evangelium, et creatus est Apostolus, &c. *Basnag. Ann. 37. num. lxii.*

(a) "From this view of the history of St. *Paul's* life after his conversion to Christianity, it is plain, that many years (thought to have been ten,) had passed, during which he had been a preacher, and an Apostle, before the time mentioned Acts xiii. At the beginning of those ten years, just after his conversion, Christ made him a Minister and an Apostle, and particularly gave him a commission to preach to the Gentils, when he appeared to him from heaven, and said, as in Acts xxvi. 16. 17. 18. . . . When therefore, ten years after this, the Prophets at *Antioch* separated *Paul* for the work to which he was called, by prayer, and fasting, and imposition of hands, it is evident, they did not give him any authority. He had received the full apostolical authority, and that, as the Apostle of the Gentils too, long before this, immediately from Christ himself." *Hallett's Notes and Discourses. Vol. 2. p. 321, 322.*

(b) *Acts ix. 15... 22.*

(c) *Ch. xxii. 6... 16.*

People, and (*d*) to *Festus*, and *Agrippa*, and from his epistle to the *Galatians*, and from the manner of his speaking of himself at the beginning of divers of his epistles.

What he says of himself to the *Galatians*, in particular, implies his having had a full knowledge of the gospel-revelation, and his being invested in the apostolical character, before the time of his first coming to *Jerusalem*, after his conversion. Gal. i. 11. 12. But I certify you, brethren, that the gospel, which was preached of me, is not after men. For I neither received it of men, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of *Jesus Christ*. . . ver. 15. . . 18. But when it pleased God, (who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace,) to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the Heathen, immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood: neither went I up to *Jerusalem*, to them which were Apostles before me. But I went into *Arabia*, and returned again unto *Damascus*. Then after three years I went up to *Jerusalem*, to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days.

Paul must have been an Apostle, and qualified to preach the gospel, before he came

(*d*) Cb. xxvi. 13. . . 24.

came to *Jerusalem*, and saw *Peter* : or what he says here cannot be reckoned material, and to the purpose, about which he is speaking.

Undoubtedly, for some good while *Paul* preached to Jews only. And when he began to preach to Gentils also, he may have had some farther revelations from Christ. But it does not follow, that he was not an Apostle before that. *Peter*, and the rest, had been Apostles several years, before they were required, or qualified to preach to Gentils.

Paul seldom speaks of his being an Apostle, or called to be an Apostle, as he often does at the begining of his epistles, but he seems to refer to, and intend his early call, when he was converted, and put into the ministrie. Rom. i. 1. *Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, separated unto the gospel of God.* 1 Cor. i. 1. *Paul, called to be an Apostle of Jesus Christ, through the will of God.* See also 2 Cor. i. 1. but especially Gal. i. 1. *Paul, an Apostle, not of men, neither by men, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead.* See likewise 1 Tim. i. 12. ii. 7. 2 Tim. i. 11.

One requisite qualification of an Apostle appears to have been, that he should see Christ in person, and that after his resurrection. This was manifestly one privilege of the first twelve Apostles, and of *Matthias*, chosen in the room of *Judas*. Acts i. 21. 22. Accordingly, we find, that *Paul* also, claiming the character of an Apostle, speaks of his having seen Christ, and as of a well known, and uncontested thing. 1 Cor. ix. 1. *Have I not seen Jesus Christ, our Lord?* And largely in the xv. chapter of the same epistle, rehearsing divers appearances of our Lord, after his resurrection, to the Apostles, and others, he says ver. 8. 9. *And last of all he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time. For I am the least of the Apostles, who am not worthie to be called an Apostle, because I persecuted the church of God.*

It is plain, then, that *Paul* had seen Christ, and after he was risen from the dead, as the other Apostles had done. But where did he see him? It is generally (e) said, and, I think,

(e) Vid. *Wits. de Vita Pauli. Sect. ii. num. v. vi. vii. et Basnagius ann. 37. num. lvi.*

Qu. 2. Qualis erat haec apparitio? Resp. Indubie corporalis: quia se, ut ceteros, testem oculatum adducit. Qu. 3. Quando, et ubi Christum vidit? Resp. Dum iret Damascus. Act.

think, rightly, in the way to *Damascus*. Then, as seems to me, Christ personally appeared to him. It is evident from St. *Luke's* account of *Paul's* conversion. *Acts ix. 3... 6.* *And as he journeyed, he came near to Damascus. And suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven. And he fell to the earth, and heard a voice, saying unto him: Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And he said: Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said:*

Act. ix. Obj. At Paulus tunc excaecatus erat. *Resp.* Prius tamen Dominum vidit, cujus maxima claritate perstricti sunt ejus oculi, ut sit solem intuentibus. *Poli Synops. ad 1. Cor. xv. 8.*

Jam quod ad hanc apparitionem Dominicam Paulo factam attinet, quae sine dubio post ascensionem Domini contigit, illud etiam indubitate tenendum est, talem fuisse quâ Christus semet ipsum corporaliter atque oculis corporeis videndum Paulo ostenderet: ad quem modum et aliis omnibus supra memoratis visus est. Nam nisi talis visio fuisset etiam haec de quâ nunc Paulus loquitur, quomodo se perinde ut ceteros testem adduceret oculatum ad probandam veritatem resurrectionis Christi? . . . Nam Paulo illo tempore suae conversionis, quum iret *Damascum*, non tantum audivisse Dominum loquentem, sed etiam vidisse, ex subsequenti narratione clarum est. Dicit enim ad eum *Ananias ix. 17. Dominus misit me, Jesus qui apparuit*, Graece *ἰησους*, qui visus est, tibi in via. Et cap. *xxii. 14. Deus praedestinavit te, ut videres justum, et audires vocem ex ore ejus.* Rursum cap. *ix. 27. Barnabas de eo narrat Apostolis, quomodo in via vidisset Dominum, et quia locutus est ei.* Sed et Dominus ad *Saulum* prostratum, ipso referente, cap. *xxvi. 16. Ad hoc enim apparui, ὡς θνητὸς, visus sum tibi, ut constituam te ministrum et testem eorum, quae vidisti.* Et quae sequuntur. *Est, in 1. Cor. xv. 8.*

said : I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest. . . . And he trembling, and astonished, said : Lord, what wilt thou have me to do ? And the Lord said unto him : Arise, and go into the city. And it shall be told thee, what thou must do. When Ananias, by special order, entred into the house, where Paul was, and put his hands upon him, he said : ver. 17. Brother Saul, the Lord, even Jesus, who appeared to thee in the way, as thou camest, ὁ ὀφθεῖς σοι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ. hath sent me. Compare ch. xxii. 14. And ch. ix. 27. Barnabas brought him to the Apostles, and declared unto them, how he had seen the Lord in the way, and that he had spoken unto him. Paul likewise in his own accounts of his conversion uses words expressive of a personal appearance to him. So Acts xxii. 6. . . 8. in his speech to the people of Jerusalem, where truth and exactness were very requisite. And it came to pass, that as I made my Journey, and was come nigh unto Damascus, about noon, suddenly, there shone from heaven a light round about me. And I fell to the ground, and heard a voice saying unto me : Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me. And I answered, Who art thou, Lord ? And he said unto me : I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom thou persecutest. So likewise

likewise Acts xxvi. 12. . . 19. very strong and expressive, indeed. To which the reader is referred.

If *Paul* did not see *Jesus* in person at the time of his conversion, when did he so see him? Some may say, at the time mentioned Acts xxii. 17. . . 21. . . . *And it came to pass, that when I was come again to Jerusalem, even when I prayed in the temple, I was in a transe, and saw him saying unto me: Make haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem. For they will not receive thy testimonie concerning me.*

Some think, that (f) *Paul* had this transe, when he first came to *Jerusalem*, at the end of three years after his conversion. Others rather think, that (g) it happened, when he and *Barnabas* came to *Jerusalem* from *Antioch*, with the contributions of the Christians there for the support of the believers in *Judea*, in the time of the dearth in the reign of *Claudius*,

(f) Ver. 17. *Retourné à Jerusalem.*] Non pas d'abord. Voyez. Gal. i. 17. mais après son voyage en Arabie et son séjour à Damas. Ibid. ver. 18. *L'enfant sur Actes, xxii. 17.*

See likewise Dr. Doddridge upon the same place, in his Family-Expositor. Vol. 3. p. 355. Sect. L.

(g) Et tum, opinor, Saulus raptus est in tertium coelum, post quod tempus anno xiv. scripsit secundam ad Corinthios epistolam. cap. xii. 2. *Pearson. Ann. Paulin. A. D. 44. p. 6.*

Claudius, and in the year of Christ 44. Of which an account is given Acts xi. 27... 30. xii. 25. Others (*b*) hesitate.

But I cannot persuade my-self, that this is what *Paul* intended, when he said to the *Corinthians*: *Am I not an Apostle? . . . Have I not seen Jesus Christ, our Lord?* nor when he says afterwards in the same epistle: *And last of all he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time.* For (*i*) there, as I apprehend, he must mean seeing Jesus Christ in person, waking, and with eyes open. Which is quite different from what happens in a dream, vision, transe, or extasie.

The

(*b*) *Witsius*, De Vita Pauli. Sect. iii. num. xi. is in doubt, at which of those times *Paul* had this transe, or vision.

(*i*) *Saulo Damascum proficiscenti Jesum factum conspicuum, nulli dubitamus. . . . Nobis aperte favent Ananiae verba: Act. ix. 17. Illud ipsum testatur Barnabas eo capite ver. 27. sed et ipse Paulus talia voce refert. Act. xxii. 24. . . . Comparatum ita erat, ut nemo apostolatus officio fungi posset, qui corporeis Christum oculis non aspexisset. Itaque in eâ collatâ sibi gratiâ exultat Paulus, atque triumphat. Nonne Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum vidi? Quandonam porro vidit, si non vidit, dum Damascum proficisceretur? Non sane in ea visione, cujus meminit Act. xxii. 17. . . . 21. Fuit enim extasis, quae non sufficiebat apostolatu. Neque ad raptum ad tertium usque coelum referri potest ea manifestatio, quae Apostolo necessaria: sive quia dubitat Paulus, utrum corpore fuerit, an spiritu: sive etiam quia multos ante annos munus obiit Apostoli, quam mirandus ipsi raptus contigerit. &c. *Basnag. A. D. 37. n. lvii: vid. et n. lviii.**

The (*k*) same answer will suffice for the season of his being *taken up into paradise, and into the third heaven*. For such things are visionarie. Nor did *Paul* himself certainly know, whether it was *in the body, or out of the body*. 2 Cor. xii. 1. . . 3. that is, whether he was then personally transported into paradise, or whether the representation was made in his mind, without any local removal. And the things, which he then saw and heard, were not to be revealed. He seldom speaks of such matters. When he does, it is not without an apologie. For,

(*k*) Quod vero multi praeter visionem, quae in via Damascena contigit, etiam mentionem huc ingerunt illius visionis, quam Paulus sibi Hierosolymam reverso, et in templo oranti, narrat oblatam fuisse. Act. xxii. 17. tanquam illud respiciat hoc loco: satis illud refellitur, ex eo quod, ipso Paulo teste, extatica fuerit illa visio: five, ut Interpres noster vertit, *in stupore mentis* facta. Jam autem ostendimus visionem corporalem hic intelligi debere. Sed neque ad raptum in tertium coelum, atque in paradisum, de qua scribit 2. Cor. xii. . . . referenda est haec visio. . . . Non tamen ibi scribit, se Dominum vidisse. Et ut vidisset, nescire tamen se dicit, utrum in corpore, an extra corpus ipsi raptus ille et visio contigerit: et ut in corpore contigerit, quod est probabilius, extaticam tamen fuisse, mente videlicet a sensibus corporeis abstracta, convenit inter Theologos. Nec, si per sensum oculorum facta fuisset ea visio, Paulus id nescire potuisset. Hic vero certum perhibet testimonium, se corporaliter, ut alios Apostolos, Christum vidisse. *Esaius ad 1. Cor. xv. 8.*

as it seems, they were, chiefly, for his own encouragement under the many and great difficulties, which he met with. This rapture into the third heaven and paradise had been concealed by him above fourteen years, and not mentioned at all, till now in this his second epistle to the *Corinthians* : as has been observed both by (l) ancients, and (m) moderns. But the *seeing Christ*, for qualifying him to be an Apostle, had been often, and openly mentioned by him.

But it may be objected, that long after his conversion *Paul* is numbred among Prophets. Acts xiii. 1. *Now there were in the church that was at Antioch certain Prophets and Teachers : as Barnabas, and Simeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen . . . and Saul.*

To which I answer. 1. If *Paul* should be allowed to be here ranked among Prophets, it will not follow, that he was not more than a Prophet, even an Apostle. *St. Peter* styles himself an *Elder*, though, undoubtedly, he

(l) Διὰ τῆτο καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἔθηκε τῶν δεκατεσσάρων ἔτων ἰδὲ γὰρ ἀπλῶς αὐτὰ μέμνηται, ἀλλὰ θεικνύς, ὅτι ἐκ αὐτοῦ τοῦτου καρτερήσας χρόνον, νῦν αὖ ἐξείπεν, εἰ μὴ πολλὰ ἦν ἀνάγκη.
Chrysost. in 2. Cor. hom. 26. T. x. p. 681. D.

(m) See Dr. Doddridge's *Family-Expositor*. Vol. 4. p. 522.

he was also an Apostle. 1 Pet. v. 1. Mr. *Le Clerc* has a fine observation, relating to this matter in his *Ecclesiastical Historie*: That (*n*) though *Paul* is mentioned last, he was superior to the rest in point of gifts. But, says he, the first Christians were not solicitous about titles and pre-eminence.

2. It is not clear, that *Paul* is here reckoned among Prophets. He seems rather to be distinguished from them. For, very probably, it is not without some reason, that *Paul* is not put first, nor next to *Barnabas*, but last of all. The meaning appears to be this. “Now there were in the church at *Antioch* certain Prophets, and Teachers, as *Barnabas*, and *Simeon*, and *Lucius*, and *Manaen*, and also *Saul*, whose character, and station in the Church is well known from the preceding historie of him in this “book.” Whereby indeed, he evidently appears to be an Apostle.

3. I add

(*n*) Ceterum, si ex Spiritus Sancti donis, sublimibusque revelationibus, Prophetarum, Doctorumque, qui memorantur, ordo conceptus esset, sine dubio, primum omnium Saulum collocari oportuisset. Sed iis temporibus nondum de prima sede, dignitateque contentiones erant inter Christianos: et qui meritis in rem Christianam omnium erant primi, ii se, ex Domini praecepto, quasi minimos gerebant, nec ultimos appellari refugiebant. *Cleric. H. E. A. D. 45. num. i.*

3. I add one thing more, that I may fully clear up this point. The designation, mentioned ch. xiii. ver. 2. 3. could not be to the Apostleship. For *Paul was not an Apostle of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father.* Gal. i. 1. Moreover, it is here expressly said, that this ordination, or appointment, at *Antioch*, was to a particular work, or service. *As they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said: Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work, whereunto I have called them. And when they had fasted, and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away.* And it might be said, that (o) here is no consecration to an office, but rather a benediction for the particular work, upon which they were now sent.

As Mr. *Hallett* says, in the place before quoted: "They (p) were not now separated for the work of the ministry, in general, but were separated from the other teachers at *Antioch*, to go abroad, and propagate

(o) Porro, vere ut dicamus, nil ordinationis est in Antiochenis Prophetarum χειροθεσία. . . . Eam ergo Paulus Barnabasque manuum susceperunt impositionem, quae benedictionis est, non consecrationis. *S. Basnag. Ann. 45. num. iii.*

(p) Vol. 2. p. 323.

“pagate the gospel in other countries. When
“they went out upon this important work,
“nothing could be more agreeable, than for
“the church at *Antioch*, to pray God to give
“*Barnabas*, and *Paul*, good success. Which
“accordingly they did. They now *recom-*
“*mended them to the grace, or favour of God:*
“as *St. Luke* says concerning this solemn
“transaction. ch. xiv. 26. And after this
“again, when *Paul* was sent abroad another
“time, to preach the gospel, where he had
“preached it before, he was in the same man-
“ner recommended to the grace of God,
“as it is written ch. xv. 40. *Paul chose Silas,*
“*and departed, being recommended by the bre-*
“*thren to the grace, or favour of God.* Since
“therefore both times, when *Paul* went out
“from *Antioch*, to preach the gospel to the
“same people, the Evangelist says, in the
“same words, that he was *recommended to*
“*the grace of God*; we cannot suppose, that
“he was any more first made an Apostle of
“the Gentils, at the former, than at the later
“time of his being recommended.”

Upon the whole, it appears to me highly
probable, from all the accounts, which we
have of *Paul's* wonderful conversion, in Acts
ix. xxii. and xxvi. that he received his apos-

tolical commission from the mouth of Christ in person, when he called to him from heaven, and spoke to him in the way to *Damascus*. And especially does this appear from Acts xxvi. 15. . . 20. where *Paul* expressly relates his commission, and the time of it, and declares, as seems to me, that all which had been hitherto done by him, in preaching the gospel, to the very time when he was imprisoned, had been done in virtue of that commission. *And he said: I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest. But arise, and stand upon thy feet. For I have appeared to thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister, and a witnesse, both of those things, which thou hast seen, and of those things, in which I will appear unto thee: delivering thee from the People, and from the Gentils, unto whom I now send thee, εἰς ἕς νῦν σε ἀποστέλλω, to open their eyes, and to turn them from darknesse to light. . . . Whereupon, o king Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision: but shewed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentils: that they should repent, and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance.*

This

This also exactly suits the manner, in which the other Apostles were appointed. They were Apostles from the time that Jesus Christ called them to attend upon him. See Matth. iv. 18. . . 22. Luke vi. 13. And he often discoursed to them concerning their commission in it's full extent, and the difficulties they would meet with in the discharge of it: giving them also various directions, relating to their conduct, when they should come abroad in the world. See Matt. x. throughout. and xvi. 18. 19. and many like places in the other Gospels. And before he left them, he expressly said: *Go ye therefore, and teach all nations.* Matt. xxviii. 19. But they did not at first understand the full extent of their commission, nor presently execute it. At the first they preached to Jews only. And it was several years, after Christ's ascension, before they preached to Gentils. So *Paul* was from the beginning called, and appointed to be an Apostle: and by degrees he was qualified for it, as his commission opened. And in time he was called out by Divine Providence to the full execution of it. But all along he was an Apostle, and acted, and taught, as such: first preaching to Jews at *Damascus*, and *Jerusalem*, and

E 2 *Judea,*

Judea, and other parts, and then to Gentils. So he plainly says to *Agrippa* in the place recited just now.

His Historie from his Conversion to his coming to Jerusalem.

VI. Having thus settled the time of *Paul's* conversion, and apostleship, according to the best of my ability, I now intend to give an account of his travels in the service of the gospel. This I do for the sake of shewing the date of his writings. And it would be shorter, and more agreeable, on divers accounts, to take in his epistles, as we go along. But there being debates about the time of several of them, I think it will be preferable, to write his historie, without interruption, as briefly as we can, and then observe the order of his epistles.

Paul, having been baptized by *Ananias* at *Damascus*, staid a short time with the disciples there, and then went into *Arabia*: where, it is very likely, he might meet with some believers. For *Arabians* are expressly mentioned Acts ii. 11. among the Jews and proselytes, who heard the Apostle *Peter's* first sermon at *Jerusalem* after the descent of the Holy Ghost. At which time many were converted to a faith in Jesus Christ. Acts ii. 41.

Whilst

Whilst *Paul* was in *Arabia*, it is reasonable to think, that he was fully instructed, by special †† revelation, in the doctrine preached by Jesus Christ, when here on earth, and all the things said and done by him, and his sufferings, crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension, the fulfilment of the ancient prophecies in Jesus, the Christ, the son of *David*, and the son of *Abraham*, and received also the Holy Ghost, in a measure equal to that of other Apostles. Whereby he was qualified to preach the gospel, and to testify the resurrection of Jesus, and to prove him to be the Christ, without receiving either instruction, or gifts from other Apostles.

Having been some time in *Arabia*, he returned to *Damascus*. And straitway he preached in the synagogues, that Jesus is the Christ, or the Son of God. This he did with such strength and cogence of argument, as to confound the Jews, which dwelt at *Damascus*. They being greatly provoked, and forming a design upon his life, the disciples found

E 3

means

†† Concerning the manner of the revelations, now vouchsafed to *Paul*, may be seen *Lightfoot*, in his Comm. upon Acts ix. 1. in the first volume of his works. p. 791.

means to provide for his escape. Whereupon he went to *Jerusalem*. Acts ix. 20. . . . 25.

Some think, that *Paul* preached at *Damascus*, soon after he had been baptized by *Ananias*, and that he also preached in *Arabia*, and that (q) he had preached three years, before he came to *Jerusalem*, after his conversion. *Pearson* (* *) supposeth, that *Paul*, whilst in *Arabia*, received by revelation, a full knowledge of the gospel. And says, that when he returned from *Arabia* to *Damascus*, he preached there. But I do not perceive him to say, that *Paul* preached in *Arabia*, or at *Damascus*, presently after his conversion.

To me it seems, that *Paul* did not preach at *Damascus*, presently after he had been baptized, but first went into *Arabia*, and then returned to *Damascus*. And being now qualified by divine revelation, and by diligent

(q) Il veut montrer, qu'il avoit prêché l'évangile trois ans avant que d'avoir vû aucun Apôtre. &c. *Beauf. sur Galat. i. 18.*

(* *) *Saulus* in *Arabia* moratur, ubi per revelationem accepit plenam a Deo notitiam evangelii, ad quod prædicandum immediate vocatus est.

Saulus ex *Arabia* redit *Damascum*, satis in officio per revelationem instructus. *Annal. Paulin. A. D. 36. 37. p. 2.*

diligent reading the scriptures of the Old Testament, during his recesses in *Arabia*, and being fully determined, after a competent time of humiliation for past conduct, and serious meditation, in which he had well weighed the difficulties of the work he was entering upon, he began to preach Christ in the synagogues of *Damascus*. I am confirmed in this opinion by the interpretation of an author, whose words I place (r) below. Nor does St. Paul, that I remember, any where say, that he preached in *Arabia*. He makes a large, and, seemingly, very par-

E 4

ticular

(r) "St. Paul being restored to his sight by *Ananias*, staid not long at *Damascus*, but retired forthwith into *Arabia*, as he himself tells us. Gal. i. 16. 17. Whereas it is said Acts ix. 19. 20. *And when he had received meat, he was strengthened. Then was Saul certain days with the disciples at Damascus, and straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues.* Here the word, *straightway*, does not relate to Saul's first coming to *Damascus*, but to his return thither, after he had been in *Arabia*. For Acts ix. 19. 20. are to be rendred and paraphrased thus: *And when he had received meat, he was strengthened.* Presently after which, according to Gal. i. 16. he went into *Arabia*, and having been there instructed in the gospel by the revelation of Jesus Christ, according to Gal. i. 12. he returned again to *Damascus*. Then, or now, *was Paul certain days with the disciples at Damascus, and straightway, namely, after his return out of Arabia, he preached Christ in the synagogues.*" Dr. Edw. Wells *Historical Geography of the N. T.* Part. 2. p. 20. 21.

ticular enumeration of places and people, to whom he had preached, in his discourse before *Agrippa*, without taking any notice of *Arabia*. Acts xxvi. 20. *I shewed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentils, that they should repent, and turn to God.*

Jerome observing, that *St. Luke* had said nothing of *Paul's* being in *Arabia*, is inclined to think, that (*s*) he did not discharge any part of his apostolical office in that country. But then, if *Paul* was silent there, he thinks, it was not owing to the Apostle's backwardness to speak: But the divine wisdom appointed, that it should be so.

Theophylact observes, that (*t*) the design of the *Jews* at *Damascus*, to destroy *Paul*,
was

(*s*) *Lucam* vero idcirco de *Arabia* praeterisse, quia forsitan nihil dignum apostolatu in *Arabia* perpetrarat: et ea potius compendiosa narratione dixisse, quae digna Christi evangelio videbantur. Nec hoc segnitiae Apostoli deputandum, si frustra in *Arabiâ* fuerit: sed quod aliqua dispensatio et Dei praeceptum fuerit, ut taceret. *Hieron.* in *Gal.* i. 17. T. 4. P. i. p. 235.

(*t*) . . . ὅτι ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ ἐν δαμάσκῳ ἐκ ἐυθείας μετὰ τὸ πισεῦσαι γέγονεν· ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸ ἀνελθεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ἀραβίας μετὰ ἔτη τρία. Καὶ οὕτως γέγονεν ἡ πρὸς τὰ ἱεροσόλυμα ἔφοδος. *Theoph.* in *Act.* Ap. p. 94.

was not formed presently after his conversion to the faith : but after his return thither from *Arabia*, at the end of three years, just before his going to *Jerusalem*.

Indeed, it is very likely, that if *Paul* had preached at *Damascus*, soon after his first arrival there, he would have met with a most violent onset. And as nothing of that kind is particularly taken notice of, it may be concluded, that he did not then publicly preach in any synagogues. Nor was it fit, or becoming, that he should. It was highly proper, that some time should be allotted for retirement, after such a course, as he had been in, before he began to preach and teach publicly in the name of Jesus.

Though *St. Luke* has not mentioned the journey into *Arabia*, nor the time of *Paul's* absence from *Damascus*, he knew it very well, and has hinted it, saying : *And after many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to slay him.* Acts ix. 23.

Mr. Beaufobre says, that (u) *Paul's* journey into *Arabia* should be placed between ver. 22. and 23. of the ix. chapter of the Acts. I should rather place it between ver. 19. and 20. of that chapter.

This

(u) *Comment. sur Gal. i. 17.*

This period of three years, or three years and somewhat more, from *Paul's* conversion to his coming to *Jerusalem*, reaches, according to our computation, from near the end of the year 36. to near the end of 39. or the beginning of the year 40. or from the beginning of the year 37. to the former part of the year 40.

I cannot allow my-self to speak positively, where there is not the evidence of certainty. I do not know, in what month *Paul* was converted, or came to *Jerusalem*. Of such things as these it is sufficient to say, that they happened in such a year, or thereabout.

From his coming first to Jerusalem after his Conversion to his being brought to Antioch by Barnabas.

VII. *Paul* having been full three years at *Damascus*, and in it's neighborhood, and in *Arabia*, he came to *Jerusalem*. Gal. i. 18. *And when he was come thither, he assayed to joyn himself to the disciples : but they were all afraid of him, and believed not, that he was a disciple.* Acts ix. 26.

This may seem strange to some. But now we discern the reason of it from the account, that has been lately given of the continuance of the persecution in *Judea* after the death of *Stephen*, and also of *Paul's* retired way of life, for some while, in *Arabia*. *Paul* had but lately

lately begun to preach openly in the name of Jesus, in the synagogues of *Damascus*. And †† the believers in *Judea* being much harassed by the persecution which they met with at home, had not received any intelligence about what had passed at *Damascus*, and in the way thither. Nor were the Jewish rulers forward to publish the losse of so active a servant, as *Paul* had been.

Acts ix. 27. . . 30. *But Barnabas took him, and brought him to the Apostles, and declared unto them, how he had seen the Lord in the way, and how he had preached boldly at Damascus.*

There

†† Says *Lighfoot* in his *Commentarie* upon Acts ix. 26. Vol. i. p. 814. "Some cannot conceive, how it should be possible, that he should have been a convert three years, and yet his conversion and present qualities should be unknown to the church at *Jerusalem*. But these two or three considerations may help the scruple. 1. The distance between *Damascus* and *Jerusalem*. 2. The persecution, that continued still upon the church of *Judea*, which would keep the disciples of *Damascus* from going thither. And 3. The just fear, that might possess the disciples at *Jerusalem*, in the very time of persecution. For though it was said before, that the church of *Jerusalem*, and of *Judea*, enjoyed a great deal of rest and tranquillity after the conversion of *Paul*, their great persecutor, in comparison of what they had done before, yet was not the persecution of the Church utterly extinct to the very time of *Paul's* coming up to *Jerusalem*, but continued still. And therefore it is the less wonder, if the disciples there be the more fearfull and cautelous."

There have been different conjectures concerning the reasons, why *Barnabas*, in particular, brought *Paul* to the Apostles. Some have imagined, that * he and *Barnabas* had studied together under *Gamaliel* : or * * at least, that they had been acquainted formerly. But I see no ground for such a supposition in the historie. If that had been the case, there would have been some intimation of it. Which there is not. I therefore rather think, that it was entirely owing to the circumstances of things. When *Paul* came to *Jerusalem*, it was a time of persecution, as before observed, and the Apostles lived privatly. *Paul* endeavored to joyn himself to the disciples, and be acquainted with them. But they were all shy of him. And possibly they were desirous, that he should be approved by some of the Apostles, before they took notice of him. However, he met with *Barnabas*, and gave him an account of his conversion, and of every thing that had happened to him, since he went from

* On pretend, qu'il avoit étudié avec Saul sous Gamaliel. *Lenfant sur Actes. ix. 27.* See also *Pool's English Annotations upon the place.*

* * Forte Barnabas Saulum ante conversionem noverat, credebaturque ei ut minime mendaci. *Grot. ad loc.*

from *Jerusalem*. And *Barnabas* gave credit to his account. Nor is it impossible, but that some believers might come from *Damascus*, and confirm the truth of it. Whereupon *Barnabas* was willing to introduce him to the Apostles. Unquestionably, they placed full confidence in *Barnabas*, and he might know where they were. However it is evident, he had access to *James*. To him he brought *Paul*. And *James* brought him to *Peter*. So *Paul* had communion with all the Apostles. After which he was readily received by the disciples, or believers in general. *And he was with them, coming in, and going out at Jerusalem. And he spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed with the Grecians, or Greeks: meaning profelytes to the Jewish religion, in whom we see the true spirit of the Jewish profelytes about this time, as declared by our Saviour himself. Matt. xxiii. 15. But they went about to slay him. Which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Cesarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus.*

By *Cesarea* I should be apt to understand *Cesarea by the sea-side*, mentioned before. ch. viii. 40. But some learned men, particularly,
Witsius,

(x) *Witsius*, and (y) *Dr. Doddridge*, hereby suppose to be intended *Cesarea Philippi*. If we could be assured of that interpretation, perhaps it might lead us to the meaning of that expression of *Paul* in his speech to *Agrippa*, cited not long ago: *throughout all the coasts of Judea*. And indeed it may be reckoned probable, that therein *Paul* refers to what was now done by him. For we cannot think of any more likely season for it, considering how short a stay he generally made in *Judea*, whenever he came thither after his conversion. It is very probable, that as he travelled with the disciples, who accompanied him, he was not silent. Though he made no long stay in any one place, he would embrace every opportunity that offered, to speak of the doctrine, which now lay with so much weight on his mind.

The

(x) . . . Hierosolymam reliquit, et a fratribus Caesaream deductus est, non maritimam illam, quae et *Turris Stratonis* dicta, de qua supra cap. viii. 40. sed *Caesaream Philippi*, quae sita erat circa montem Libanum, ad confluentem Jor et Dan, unde Jordanes originem ducit, quae olim Lachis, deinde Dan appellata fuit, de qua Jud xviii. Cujus pomoeria quum Rex Agrippa protulisset, mutato nomine in honorem Neronis vocavit Neroniada. Joseph. Antiq. 20. viii. *Wits. de Vita Pauli* Sect. 3. n. ii.

(y) See the *Family-Expositor*. Vol. 3. p. 146. upon *Acts ix. 30*.

The brethren, as St. Luke says, brought him down to Cesarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus. And St. Paul himself says Gal. i. 21. Afterwards I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia. Tarsus was now the chief city of Cilicia, and Paul's native place: where he had not been, since he first came up to Jerusalem, to study the law under Gamaliel. Possibly, Paul now found some of his relations, and likewise some others, who were disciples of Jesus before him. See Rom. xvi. 7. 11. Possibly also, while he travelled now in these countreys of Cilicia and Syria, he met with some of those dangers, and difficulties, which are entirely omitted by St. Luke, but are mentioned, or hinted by the Apostle, in his epistles, especially the eleventh chapter of the second epistle to the Corinthians.

In those countreys *Paul* was the remainder of the year 40. and all 41. and likewise all 42. or the greatest part of it, till about the begining of the year 43. preaching, undoubtedly, in the name of Jesus, to native Jews, and to profelytes of the Jewish Religion.

Afterwards he went to *Antioch*, and began to preach to Gentils, as we shall see presently.

The churches having peace, and being no longer disturbed by a violent persecution,

Peter

Peter visited the disciples in the several parts of *Judea*. Acts ix. 32. . . 43. Before he returned to *Jerusalem*, whilst he was in the city of *Joppa*, where he tarried many days, he received an order from heaven to go to *Cesarea*. And in ch. x. and xi. 1. . . 18. *St. Luke* gives a distinct account of *St. Peter's* going to the house of *Cornelius* at *Cesarea*, and there preaching to Gentils, and of the defense, which he made of his conduct to the Apostles and Brethren at *Jerusalem*, and their acquiescence therein, upon which I do not now enlarge.

Afterwards at ver. 19. 20. *St. Luke* says ; *Now they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen, travelled as far as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching the word to Jews only. And some of them were men of Cyprus and Cyrene : Who when they were come to Antioch, spake unto the Grecians, preaching the Lord Jesus.*

These men had preached the gospel to Jews, and the proselytes to Judaism, in *Phenice*, and *Cyprus*, and *Antioch*. But some time after their arrival at *Antioch*, hearing of *Peter's* having opened the door of the kingdom of heaven to Gentils at the house of

Cor-

Cornelius, they began to preach also to the *Greeks* at *Antioch*, that is, the †† people of the countrey: who might, possibly, some few of them, be pious men, like *Cornelius*, who even before his conversion was a worshiper of the true God, the God of *Israel*: but the greatest part of them must have been Heathen idolaters, as all the people of the earth, except the Jews, generally were, till the coming of Christ, and the preaching of his gospel (z) among them.

Ver.

†† . . . that is, the people of the countrey. Acts xix. 10. . . . so that all they which dwelt in Asia, heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks. and ver. 17. And this was known to all the Jews and Greeks also dwelling at Ephesus. It is common with all authors about that time, to call the people, who inhabited the cities of Asia, and Syria, Greeks. 'Οι δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν . . . πάντα τοῖς ἐπ' ἀντιοχείας ἰσδαίοις ἀπέδσαν, . . . καὶ συνεχώρησαν αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἰσθ τῆς πόλεως τοῖς ἑλλησι μετέχειν. *Jos. de B. J. l. 7. cap. 3. n. 3. p. 1299. Hudson.* Iter igitur ita per Asiam feci. . . . Nullo judicio, nullâ contumeliâ, auctoritate et cohortatione perfeci, ut et Graeci, et cives Romani, qui frumentum compresserant, magnum numerum populis pollicerentur. *Cic. ad Att. l. 5. ep. 21. et passim.*

(z) Ut ut sit, Gentiles hic intelligi, res ipsa clamat. Atque hoc primum exemplum est evangelii publice Gentibus praedicati. Nam alterum illud Cornelii non nisi domesticum fuit. Quum vero Dei favorem in sancto hoc opere insigniter experirentur fideles illi Cyprii ac Cyrenenses, multusque Graecorum numerus fide ipsis habita converteretur ad Christum,

Ver. 21. *And the hand of the Lord was with them.* God graciously accompanied their ministrie with miraculous works, which he enabled them to perform in the name of Jesus. Whereby they who saw them were awakened and convinced. And those Evangelists likewise were greatly encouraged, being thereby fully satisfied, that what they did was approved by God himself. *And a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord.*

Ver. 22. . . 26. *Then tidings of these things came unto the ears of the church, which was at Jerusalem. And they sent forth Barnabas, that he should go as far as Antioch. Who when he came, and had seen the grace of God, was glad, and exhorted them all, that with purpose of heart, they should cleave unto the Lord. . . Then departed Barnabas to Tarsus, for to seek Saul. And when he had found him, he brought him unto Antioch.*

. . . to his coming up to Jerusalem with the Contributions of the Christians at Antioch.

VIII. If Peter preached to Cornelius, in the year 41. and about the middle of that year, as is probable; it would be near the end of the year 42. or the begining of the year

tum, non potuit tantae rei fama Hierosolymitanae ecclesiae proceres diu latere. *Wits. de Vita Paul. Sect. 3. n. iii.*

year 43. when *Paul* was brought by *Barnabas* to *Antioch*.

During this time of *Paul's* being at *Antioch*, in the year of Christ 43. he might have the rapture, mentioned by him 2 Cor. xii. It seems to me to have happened soon after he came to *Antioch*, when he first began to preach to Gentils, who hitherto had preached to Jews only.

Ver. ²6. *And it came to pass, that a whole year they assembled themselves with the church, and taught much people. And the disciples were called Christians first at Antioch.*

This whole year, I think, must be part of the years 43. and 44. according to the vulgar computation. It may have reached some way into the year 44. Indeed, I apprehend, the whole year, mentioned by *Luke*, to have expired not long before the time, that *Paul* and *Barnabas* went up to *Jerusalem*, with the contributions made at *Antioch*, for the relief of the believers in *Judea*, in the approaching famine. For that is what *St. Luke* immediately proceeds to relate in ver. 27. . . 30. that is, to the end of the chapter. And in this year, 44. I suppose the believers in *Jesus* to have obtained this denomination.

And the disciples were called Christians. Which (a) some think to have been done by a divine admonition. And they translate after this manner : *And (b) the disciples were by divine appointment first named Christians at Antioch.*

Witfius (c) does not discern any particular emphasis in the word, and readily admits the interpretation of *Grotius*, that the Greek word, according to it's usual meaning in the best Greek writers, and in the New Testament itself, signifies *named*, or *called*. And he inclines to the conjecture of *Abp. Usher*,
that

(a) See *Dr. Benson's History of the first planting the Christian Religion*, vol. i. ch. i. sect. vi. p. 241. first ed. p. 248. 2d. ed.

(b) That is *Dr. Doddridge's translation*. *Family-Expositor*. vol. 3. p. 178.

(c) Quod nomen Latinâ non Graecâ formâ a Christo deflexum, a Romanis Antiochiae degentibus impositum illis fuisse, conjectat in Annalibus suis *Uferius*. Nec desunt, qui emphasin quaerant in voce χρηματίσαι, quâ Lucas utitur. Scilicet talem volunt nominationem eo vocabulo designari, quae publico edicto, et jussu Reipublicae fit. . . . Non invidio sane observationes istas doctissimis auctoribus suis : modo mihi dubitare liceat, an tam solidae quam subtiles sint. Simplicior videtur annotatio *Grotii* : χρηματίζεν, pro nominari, est vox melioris Graecitatis, quam et *Polybius* non semel usurpat : et *Paulus* Rom. vii. 3. ἀρα οὖν ζωτός τε ἀνδρὸς μοιχαλὶς χρηματίσει. Ubi haec jactata vocis emphasis ? *Wils.* ubi *supr.* Sect. 3. num. iv.

that this appellation was given to the believers by the Romans then at *Antioch*.

Suicer in his *Thesaurus* explains (*d*) the original word, and understands this text, exactly as *Grotius* did.

Dr. Heumann has (*e*) a Dissertation concerning the origin of the name of Christians. Wherein (*f*) he largely shews it to be very probable, that this name had not its rise

F 3

from

(*d*) χρηματίζω significat nominor, vocor, appellor. Ita sumitur Acts xi. 26. . . *Factum est autem, ut primum Antiochiae discipuli nominarentur vel appellarentur Christiani.* χρηματίσαι hic est ὀνομασθῆναι, προσαγορευθῆναι, λεχθῆναι, κληθῆναι. *Suicer.*

(*e*) De ortu nominis christianorum. *Diff. xi. ap. Primit. Gotting. p. 130. . . 147.*

(*f*) Satis nunc cognovimus, Christianorum appellationis auctores fuisse non ipsos Christi cultores, sed Ethnicos. . . . Illud praeterea hinc discimus, Latinum potius esse nomen Christianorum, quam Graecum. Ac proinde facile subscribimus sententiae Usserii, in Annalibus suis pronunciantis: *Nomen Christianorum Latina non Graeca forma a Christo deflexum, a Romanis Antiochiae tum agentibus impositum illis fuisse videtur.* Nec Rex Agrippa Act. xxvi. 28. appellatione Christianorum utens, cum esset in domo Festi, Romani praefidis, alio credi potest nomine usus esse, quam quod usurpabant Romani. Ac certe in universa Laertii Historia Philosophorum Graecorum, ne una quidem secta occurrit, cujus nomen terminationem *anus* nactum sit: neque e. g. Platoniani dicuntur Platonis affeculae, uti Ciceronianos dixissent Latini et Catonianos, sed Platonici. . . . Illud adjicio, etiam Herodianis hoc nomen impositum non Graecos aut Judaeos, sed Romanos. *Heum. ib. num. ix. p. 140.*

from the Jews. Nor did the disciples of Jesus take it to themselves. But, probably, they were first so called by Heathens, particularly the Romans: as Abp. *Usher* had argued, the name not having a Greek, but a Latin termination.

This will overthrow the observation of *Chrysostom*, formerly (g) mentioned, "That St. Paul gave us this name." And indeed Dr. *Heumann* shews, that both (b) St. Luke, and (i) St. Paul seem to have declined the use

(g) See Vol. x. p. 361.

(b) Nec vero solum non probari potest, primum usos esse Christianorum appellatione Christi discipulos: verum etiam gravibus id negari potest argumentis. . . . Primum enim Lucam sequentibus in capitibus hujus sui libri uti oportuisset hac appellatione, si Christiani Antiocheni hoc nomen ipsi sibi imposuissent. Jam vero id ne semel quidem ab eo factum est, sed, uti antea Christianae religionis professores modo μαθητάς vocavit. cap. i. 15. vi. 1. 2. 7. ix. 1. 10. 19. 25. 26. 36. modo ἀδελφοί. ix. 30. x. 21. xi. 1. 12. semel etiam τὸς πισύσαντας. iv. 32. ac semel τὸς ἀγίους. ix. 32. sic post mentionem de ortu nominis Christianorum eos semel appellavit τὸς πεπιστευκότας. xxi. 25. ceteris in locis aut μαθητάς. xi. 29. xiii. 52. xvi. 20. 28. xvii. 1. xviii. 23. 27. xix. 1. 9. xx. 1. 7. 30. xxi. 4. 16. aut ἀδελφοί. xi. 29. xii. 17. xv. 1. 3. 22. 23. 32. 33. 40. xvi. 2. 40. xvii. 6. 10. 14. xviii. 18. xxi. 7. 17. xxviii. 14. 15. Ubi *supr.* num. vi. p. 137.

(i) Deinde, si eo tempore, quo Paulus Antiochiae docuit, Christi discipuli hoc nomen sua sponte adscivissent, dubitari non potest, quin is Apostolus usurpaturus hanc appellationem fuisset

use of it : possibly, least our Saviour should have been esteemed an ordinarie leader of a sect, like the Philosophers at that time

F 4

much

fuisseis suis in epistolis. Semper autem alio is utitur nomine. In exordiis solet eos τὲ ἀγῖος vocare. Nactus quoque opportunam occasionem eos appellandi τὲς χριστιανὸς. ex. gr. Rom. viii. 9. Gal. v. 14. tamen dicere maluit τὲς τῷ χριστῷ. Imò cum Agrippa Act. xxvi. 28. ad ipsum hanc vocem edidisset : *Prope abest, ut et ego fiam χριστιανός* : quasi refugiens appellationem hanc, non ita respondet : *Vellem fias Christianus*, sed hisce verbis : *Vellem fias talis, qualis ego sum*. Notabilis et ille locus Gal. i. 22. . . . At non ait ibi Paulus : ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις χριστιαναῖς, sed ταῖς ἐν χριστῷ. Eodem modo. 1. Tim. v. 16. ubi dicere poterat, *si quis Christianus vel christiana mulier*, ita locutus est : εἰ τις πιστὸς ἢ πιστή. Jam si Ecclesia ipsa auctor fuisset hujus appellationis, an, eā tam studiose abstinere potuisse Paulum credi potest? Memini, etiam, Isidorum Pelusiotam olim hanc proposuisse quaestionem. lib. 4. ep. 61. Cur nusquam Paulus nomen usurparit χριστιανὸς : nihil autem ad eam respondisse. Nos vero videmur nobis iustissima responsione defuncti esse. *Ibid. num. vii. p. 138.*

Nomine illo Christianorum nec Paulum usquam nec Lucam usum esse, cum supra observaverimus, nunc discipiamus, age, cur hic Apostolus, una cum Ministro suo socioque sacri itineris id fecerit : cur item non ita multo post in civitatem Christianam recepta fuerit ea appellatio. Abstenuisse scilicet eā hanc ob causam videtur Paulus, ne Christus hoc pacto in ordinem redigeretur doctorum sapientiae τῶν ἁλανθρώπων, cum sit θεάνθρωπος. &c. *ib. num. xi. p. 142.*

Ad ultimum non dubitabant ipsimet Christiani pervulgato uti hoc nomine. . . . Cujus rei etsi unum duntaxat exemplum in N. T. codice, in prioris videlicet Petri epistolae capite quarto, unum tamen illud exemplum est instar sexcentorum. *Ib. num. xii. p. 142. 143.*

much celebrated among the Greeks and Romans.

However, it was not long, before it obtained, and was very acceptable to the followers of Jesus. It is used by St. *Peter* 1. iv. 16. And some (*k*) have thought it to be the *worthie name*, intended by St. *James*. ch. ii. 7. And it is certain, that afterwards it was much, and justly valued by those, who bore it. In the epistle of the churches of *Vienne* and *Lyons*, giving an account of their late sufferings, it is stiled (*l*) an honorable, and glorious, and reviving appellation.

It may be hence concluded, that the believers at *Antioch* were now numerous. Otherwise, Heathen people had not taken so much notice of them. And indeed St. *Luke* had before said, that when the men of *Cyprus* and *Cyrene* were come to *Antioch*, and spoke to the Greeks, preaching the Lord Jesus, the hand of the Lord was with them, and a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord. ver. 20. 21. and that upon the coming of *Barnabas*, and his preaching there, much people was added unto the Lord. ver. 24. It is reasonable

(*k*) *Vid. Grot. et Wolf. Curae in loc.*

(*l*) . . . τὴν πάντιμον, καὶ ἐνδοξὴν, καὶ ζωποιοὺν προσήγορίαν.
Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 5. cap. i. p. 160. D. Vid. et p. 158. A.

reasonable to suppose, that after *Paul* came thither, farther additions were made, at which time they received this new name.

It follows Acts xi. 27. . . . 30. *And in those days came Prophets from Jerusalem unto Antioch. And there stood up one of them, named Agabus, and signified in the Spirit, that there should be great dearth throughout all the world. [or all the land, meaning Judea.] Which came to pass in the days of Claudius Caesar. Then the disciples, every man according to his ability, determined to send relief to the brethren, who dwelt in Judea. Which also they did. And sent it to the Elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul.*

Then follows in the xii. chapter an account of the persecution, and death of *Herod Agrippa* : in the last verse of which chapter it is said : *And Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem, when they had fulfilled their ministrie. And they took with them John, whose surname was Mark.*

Of this famine we spoke (*m*) formerly. And as *Agrippa* died in 44. and *Barnabas* and *Paul* seem not to have performed this service, nor to have returned to *Antioch*, un-
till

(*m*) See Part i. B. i. ch. xi. §. ii.

till after his death ; it was argued, that this commission of the church of *Antioch* was not finished by them till near the end of that year.

At this time of *Paul's* being at *Jerusalem*, in the year 44. I suppose, he had the transe mentioned by him in his speech to the Jewish people, Acts xxii. 17. . . . 21. For it was in that city, and in the temple, as he expressly says : *And it came to pass, that when I was come again to Jerusalem, even while I was praying in the temple, I was in a transe. . . . And he said unto me : Depart. For I will send thee far hence unto the Gentils.* And we shall presently see, that soon after this, *Paul* and *Barnabas* left *Antioch*, and made a farther progresse in preaching the gospel to Gentil people.

I suppose this period to be about two years, from the time of *Paul's* coming first to *Antioch*, and begining to preach there to Gentils, to his return thither again, after he had been at *Jerusalem* upon the commission above-mentioned : that is, from near the end of the year 42. or from the begining of the year 43. to the end of the year 44.

IX. I now

IX. I now intend to take in the historie of *Paul* and *Barnabas* from that time to their coming again to *Jerusalem*, and returning thence to *Antioch*. . . . to his coming to the Council at *Jerusalem*.

Says *St. Luke* Acts xiii. 1. . . 3. Now there were in the church that is at *Antioch* certain Prophets, and Teachers, as *Barnabas*, and *Simeon*, and *Lucius*, and *Manaen*, and *Saul*. And as they ministred unto the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said: Separate me *Barnabas* and *Saul* for the work, whereunto I have called them. And when they had fasted, and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away.

Pearson supposeth, that (n) at this time, which, according to his computation, was the year 44. *Paul* had the rapture mentioned by him 2 Cor. xii. 1. . . 4. But first, I suppose it to have been now the year 45. where also this mission is placed by (o) *Basnage*. Secondly,

(n) Dum ibi Prophetæ et Doctores ministrarent Domino, Saulus et Barnabas segregati ab illis sunt in opus, ad quod assumfit eos Spiritus Sanctus. Acts xiii.

Et tum, opinor, Saulus raptus est in tertium coelum, post quod tempus anno xiv. scripsit secundam ad Corinthios epistolam. xii. 2. *Pearson. Ann. Paulin. p. 6. ad ann. Claudii 4. aer. vulg. 44.*

(o) Ann. 45. num. iii. iv. &c.

Secondly, that rapture must have happened before the year 44. The second epistle to the *Corinthians* was writ, according (*p*) to *Pearson*, in the year 57. St. Paul's expression, speaking of this rapture, is *above fourteen years ago*. Which †† will carry us back to the fifteenth year, consequently, to the year of Christ 43. for the soonest. At which time I suppose *Paul* was come to *Antioch*, and was begining to preach the gospel there to Gentils, together with *Barnabas*. *Basnage* (*q*) placeth this rapture in the year 41.

Acts xiii. 4. *So they being sent forth by the Holy Ghost, departed unto Seleucia, and thence sailed to Cyprus.*

Antioch upon the *Orontes* was the capital city of *Syria*. *Seleucia* was a city lying about twelve miles lower upon the same river, a port upon the mediterranean sea, a few miles

(*p*) *Annal. Paulin. p. 15.*

†† "That rapture, or trance, was somewhat above fourteen years before he wrote his second epistle to *Corinth. 2 Cor. xii. 2.* Now in that he saith, it was *πρὸ ἐτῶν*, *before*, or *above* fourteen years ago, he speaketh not of an indefinite time, . . . but that it was a little above that space, though it were somewhat above exact fourteen years." &c. *Lightfoot Vol. i. p. 792.*

(*q*) *Vid. Ann. 41. num. xxi. xxii.*

miles above the mouth of the *Orontes*. There *Paul* and *Barnabas* took shipping, and sailed to *Cyprus*, which lay westward. They went ashore at *Salamis*, a city at the east end of the island. Where finding Jewish synagogues, *they preached the word of the Lord to them*. After which they went through the island to *Paphos*, at the west end, where was the seat of the Proconsul. His name was *Sergius Paulus*. *Who sent for Barnabas, and Saul, desiring to hear the word of God*. He being a man well disposed, and seeing the miracle wrought by *Saul* upon *Elymas* the forcerer, whom he smote with blindness for a season, *believed*, or embraced the doctrine of the gospel, taught by *Saul* and *Barnabas*. And hence-forward St. *Luke* writes the Apostle's name *Paul*, whom he had hitherto called *Saul*.

It may be thought, that the chief reason of their going now to *Cyprus*, was, that it was the native countrey of *Barnabas*, as we know from Acts iv. 36. But beside that, I imagine, there was another reason, and more influencing. For we perceive, that some of them who left *Jerusalem* upon account of the persecution, that followed the death of *Stephen*, were men of *Cyprus*, and had

had been there preaching to *Jews* only, as well as at *Antioch*. And it might be reckoned very proper, when the gospel was to be preached to *Gentils*, as well as to *Jews*, that these special messengers should go directly to a countrey, where an addresse had been already made to *Jews*: and where some of them, as may be reasonably supposed, had been converted to the faith of the gospel.

Leaving *Paphos*, they came back to the continent, and landed at *Perga* in *Pamphylia*. Where *Mark*, who hitherto had accompanied them, left them, and returned to *Jerusalem*.

From *Perga* they went to *Antioch*, the chief city of *Pisidia*, lying north of *Pamphylia*. St. *Luke* has given a large account of *Paul's* discourse in the Jewish synagogue there, and the success of it. Acts xiii. 14. . . . 52. From *Antioch* they went to *Iconium*, the chief city of *Lycaonia*. Where they also taught in the Jewish synagogue: so that a great multitude both of the *Jews*, and also of the *Greeks* believed. Many miracles likewise were wrought by their hands, during their stay in that city. xiv. 1. . . 4. But at length a design being formed, both by *Jews* and *Gentils*, and their rulers, to
stone

stone them to death, and they receiving intelligence of it, when it was almost ripe for execution, went thence: and preached the gospel at *Lystra*, and *Derbe*, cities of *Lycaonia*, and in the region round about: ver. 6. 7. meaning, perhaps, *Isauria*, sometimes reckoned a part of *Lycaonia*. At *Lystra* Paul healed a man lame from his birth. Which raised great admiration in the people. And, if not restrained, they would have offered a sacrifice to *Paul* and *Barnabas*. Nevertheless by artifices of unbelieving Jews, who came thither from *Antioch*, and *Iconium*, the minds of the people were soon changed, and they stoned *Paul*, and dragged him out of the city, supposing he had been dead. Howbeit, as the disciples, who had not left him, stood round about him, he rose up, and came into the city. And the next day he departed with *Barnabas* to *Derbe*. Where having preached the gospel, and taught many, they returned again to *Lystra*, *Iconium*, and *Antioch*, confirming the disciples there, and exhorting them to continue in the faith, and letting them know, that we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God. And when they had ordained them Elders in every city, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they had believed.

From

From *Antioch* they went to *Pamphylia*. And when they had preached the word in *Perga*, where they had been before, but probably made no stay, they went down to *Attalia*, a maritime city of the same countrey. Thence they sailed to *Antioch*, whence they had been recommended to the grace of God, for the work, which they had fulfilled. And when they were come, and had gathered the church together, they rehearsed all that God had done with them, and how he had opened the door of faith unto the Gentils. And there they abode long time with the disciples. ver. 8. . . . 28.

For this journey *Pearson* (r) allots three years, that is, 45. 46. 47. and somewhat more. For he placeth their setting out, and going to *Salamis* in the year 44. *Tillemont* (s) thinks this journey might be performed in two years, that is, according to his computation, part of the year 44. all 45. and part of 46. From which time to the council at *Jerusalem*, next mentioned by *St. Luke*, might be, as he thinks, about five years. In which space of time, he supposeth *Paul* to have gone into *Illyricum*, and also to have preached

(r) *Annal. Paulin.* p. 67.

(s) *S. Paul. Art.* xii. . . . xv.

preached *throughout all Judea* : as mentioned Acts xxvi. 20. and likewise in *Cilicia*.

I likewise am of opinion, that this journey of *Paul* and *Barnabas* in the several countreys, just mentioned, might be performed in two years. I think, they could not set out from *Antioch*, before the beginning of the year 45. And, probably, returned in the former part of the year 47. But if any are rather for three years, and think this journey was not compleated before the beginning of the year 48. I should not reckon it worth while to dispute about it.

But I do not see any reason to believe, that they undertook any more journeys, before they went up to the Council at *Jerusalem*. They might judge it very proper to make a long stay at *Antioch*, where was the first Gentil church: as the other Apostles made a long stay at *Jerusalem*, and in *Judea*. However, this church of *Antioch*, I suppose, with (t) *Witsius*, to have consisted partly of Jews, and partly of Gentils. Nor do I think, that *Paul* and *Barnabas* would, as yet, extend their ministrie farther than they had done,

(t) Erat enim urbs Gentilis, et ecclesia ibidem collecta omnium prima, quae partim Judaeis, partim conversis Gentilibus constabat. *Ubi supr. sect. iii. num. v.*

without an exprefs divine appointment. What they had already done, was a great deal. And must have exceeded the most raised expectations, till they had seen the event. Their stay at *Antioch* must have been very useful, probably expedient. It was proper to secure what they had gained. And they might there receive applications from the several countreys, in which they had been, and impart counsel and encouragement. If they had soon gone hence again, some might have arrived, that should unsettle the minds of new converts. We plainly perceive, that from *Judea* came several to see this new colonie at *Antioch*. Some might come with good views, to encourage and confirm the believers there: or to satisfy themselves concerning the truth of what they had heard with great pleasure. But others might come with a design to instill narrow principles, and disturb their minds with different sentiments from those, which had been taught them by *Paul* and *Barnabas*. St. *Luke*, notwithstanding the concisenesse of his historie, has informed us of two visits made here from *Judea*: the first, in the year 43. or 44. when *there came Prophets*

phets from *Jerusalem* to *Antioch*. xi. 27. Afterwards there came men from *Judea*, who taught the brethren, that unless they were circumcised, they could not be saved. xv. 1. Of which more presently.

If *Paul* and *Barnabas* went any where, we might think of *Cilicia* : the rather, because we can perceive, that soon after this there were Gentil believers there : though, when *Paul* first preached in that countrey, we suppose him to have applied to Jews only. And it is well observed by *Tillemont* upon the case now before us : “ it (u) is certain, that Christianity had been established among the Gentils in *Cilicia*, before the Council of *Jerusalem*.” Acts xv. 23. Nevertheless, I should rather think, that *Paul* and *Barnabas* did not now leave *Antioch*, after their return thither, before they went up to *Jerusalem*. For some of *Cilicia* might learn the doctrine of the gospel by coming to *Antioch*. Or some of the Prophets and Evangelists, of *Antioch*, may have gone to *Cilicia*, with the approbation, and by the direction of *Paul* and *Barnabas*.

In this way of arguing I am encouraged by those words of St. *Luke*, just cited :

G 2

And

(u) As before Art. xv.

And there they abode long time with the disciples. We now proceed.

Acts xv. 1. . . 5. And certain men, which came down from Judea, taught the brethren : Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved. When therefore Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and disputation with them, they determined, that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them, should go up to Jerusalem, unto the Apostles and Elders, about this question . . . And when they were come to Jerusalem, they were received of the church, and of the Apostles, and Elders. And they declared all things, that God had done with them. But, (they said) there (B) had risen up certain of the sect

(B) Many have mistaken those words, as if they were St. Luke's, who observed, that there were at Jerusalem some of the sect of the Pharisees, who insisted upon imposing the law upon the Gentils. So thought Dr. Doddridge, Family-Expositor. Vol. 3. p. 233. So likewise Tillemont, whose words are these : Ils furent bien reçus à Jerusalem. Mais ils y trouverent les mesmes troubles, qui agitoient l'église d'Antioche, et dont ils venoient chercher le remede. Car quelques Chrétiens, qui avoient été Pharisiens, vouloient qu'on obligeast les Gentils à la circoncision, et à l'observation de la loi. *S. Paul. art. xvi.* Grotius himself seems to have understood these words in the same manner. *Sicut Antiochiaë quidam e Judæis facti Christiani, ita et Hierosolymis quidam duriores*

sect of the Pharisees, which believed, saying, that it was needful to circumcise them, and to command them to keep the law. Thus they delivered their message, and proposed the question, which they were desirous to have determined.

And the Apostles and Elders came together to consider of this matter. Having in that assemblie, after many debates, formed some resolutions, they sent them in a letter to the brethren, which are of the Gentils, in Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia. ver. 6. . . 31.

G 3

Those

duriores illam defendebant sententiam. *Græc. in ver. 5.* Whereas, upon due consideration, I think, all must be sensible, that they are not the words of the historian, but of the messengers of the church of *Antioch*, representing to the Apostles and Elders at *Jerusalem* the case, or state of the question, about which they were sent, and which they desired to have now fully resolved, and determined. This is the interpretation, which *Beza* preferred. Hunc locum video omnes perinde interpretati, ac si essent verba *Lucae*, quasi cum suam expeditionem narrarent *Paulus* ac *Barnabas*, insurrexerint, qui circumcisionem urgerent. Quod mihi non fit admodum probabile. Sed potius illos, exposita sua expeditione, subjecisse controversiam illam *Antiochia*e excitatam, cujus causa ipsi *Hierosolymam* venerant. Puto igitur, esse illorum verba, non *Lucae*. *Bez. in loc.* *Lenfant* follows *Beza*. And *Whitby*, if I do not mistake him, gives the same interpretation. And *Dr. Doddridge*, upon my telling him how I understood the place, readily acquiesced, as I well remember. For he was always open to conviction, therein giving a good example to all inquirers after truth.

Those determinations were intended for all believers in general from among the Gentils, containing, as it were, the terms, upon which all Gentils were to be admitted into the Church of Christ. But the epistle was directed, particularly, to the Gentils in *Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia*, because among them the controverſie had ariſen, and they were the perſons, who had ſent a ſolemn deputation to the Apoſtles and Elders at *Jeruſalem*, to have their opinion upon it.

This journey to *Jeruſalem*, related by St. *Luke* Acts xv. I ſuppoſe to be the ſame with that mentioned by St. *Paul* himſelf, of which he gives an account to the *Galatians*. ii. 1. . . 10. Indeed, he mentions ſome circumſtances, wanting in *Luke*. But, as I apprehend, they are not ſuch as need induce us to think, two different journeys to be ſpoken of.

From *Paul* therefore we ſhall endeavor to find out the time of it. *Then fourteen years after*, ſays he, *I went up again to Jeruſalem, with Barnabas, and took Titus with me alſo. And I went up by revelation.* In the preceding chapter of the epistle to the *Galatians* Paul had related his converſion in the way to *Damaſcus*, and then his going up
to

to Jerusalem, after three years, to see Peter, and abiding with him fifteen days. i. 18. Where are we to date the begining of those fourteen years? at his conversion? or at his coming to Jerusalem, to see Peter? Pearson is clearly of opinion, that (x) the computation must be made from the time of his conversion. So likewise say (y) Estius, and (z) Basnage.

Says St. Paul Gal. i. 17. *Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem, to see Peter.* Those three years cannot be computed from his return to *Damascus*, out of *Arabia*, though it be the thing mentioned immediately before in ver. 17. But must be reckoned from his conversion. In like manner must be understood those words in ch. ii. 1. *then fourteen years after I went up to Jerusalem.*

G 4

(x) Anno xiv. a conversione S. Pauli congregatum. Hunc enim adventum suum narrat Apostolus Gal. ii. 1. 2. et tempus ipsum determinate exprimit. . . . Quod autem Apostolus ad epocham conversionis suae referat annos, quos ibi narrat, manifestum est ex scopo capitis i. et ii. . . . *Deinde, post annos quatuordecim rursus ascendit Hierosolymam.* Idem enim horum verborum scopus, eadem annorum epocha. Vox enim *τετα*, *deinde*, non conjungit haec verba cum illis de triennio, quasi a fine illius triennii initium fumerent. Aliud enim *τετα* inter haec et illa intercedit. *Annal. Paulin. p. 89.*

(y) *Est. in Gal. ii. 1. 2.*

(z) *Ann. 50. num. iii.*

salem. We must take the same date or epoch for the *three years*, and for the *fourteen years*. They both begin from the same time, that is, St. Paul's conversion.

The Council deputed with their epistle two chosen men of their own number, *Judas* and *Silas*, to go to *Antioch*, together with *Paul* and *Barnabas*. Acts xv. 22. 23. After they had tarried there a while, *Judas* returned to *Jerusalem*, but *Silas* abode there still. ver. 32. . . 34.

This Council at *Jerusalem*, according to (a) *Pearson*, and, I suppose, many others, was held in the year of Christ 49. *Basnage*, supposing *Paul* to have been converted in 37. placeth (b) this Council in the year 50.

As I cannot say exactly, when *Paul* was converted, whether in 36. or 37. I am led to hesitate about the time of the Council. But if he was converted before the end of the year 36. the Council, as I apprehend, may be computed to have been held in the year 49. St. Paul says Gal. i. 18. *then after three years I went up to Jerusalem.* ἔπειτα μετὰ ἔτη τρία. Which, I think, implies full *three years*, or somewhat more,

as

(a) *Annal. Paulin.* p. 8. 9. 10.

(b) *Ann.* 50. num. xxi, xxii,

as before observed. But the expression in Gal. ii. 1. is different. We translate: *Then fourteen years after I went up again to Jerusalem.* Ἐπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν πάλιν ἀνέβην εἰς ἱεροσόλυμα. Which, I think, may be thus rendred: *Then in about fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem.* The three years, above mentioned, are compleat: but the *fourteen years* need not be so understood. And, probably, were not compleat. If therefore *Paul* be supposed to have been converted in the year 36. this Council might be held, accordingly, in 49.

This period, from *Paul's* setting out with *Barnabas* from *Antioch*, to go to *Cyprus*, in the begining of the year 45. to their coming up to the Council at *Jerusalem*, and returning thence to *Antioch*, near the end of the year 49. or the begining of 50. is the space of about five years.

X. The next period will reach from this time to *St. Paul's* coming again to *Jerusalem*, when he was apprehended, and imprisoned.

... to his coming to Jerusalem when he was apprehended.

Soon after the return of *Barnabas* and *Paul* to *Antioch*, *Peter*, as it seems, came thither, as related by *St. Paul*. Gal. ii. 11.

... 21. Nevertheless that occasioned not their making any long stay at *Antioch*. For says St. *Luke*. Acts xv. 36. *And some days after*, that is, I think, after their being come back to *Antioch*, or after *Judas* had gone away to *Jerusalem*, and the controverſie, which had been troublesome for ſome while before, was fully compoſed, *Paul ſaid unto Barnabas* : *Let us go again, and viſit our brethren, in every city, where we have preached the word of the Lord, and ſee how they do.* *And Barnabas determined to take with them John, whoſe ſurname was Mark.* By which we perceive, that *Mark*, who before had left *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and gone to *Jerusalem*, was now come again into this country, and was willing to have again accompanied them. Poſſibly, he came hither with *Peter*. But *Paul* thought not good to take him with them, who departed from them from *Pamphylia*, and went not with them to the work. And the contention was ſo ſharp, that they departed aſunder one from the other. So *Barnabas* took *Mark*, and ſailed into *Cyprus*. *Paul choſe Silas, and departed...* and went through *Syria* and *Cilicia*, confirming the churches. Acts xv. 33... 41.

I am

I am inclined to think, that it was in the begining of the year 50. that St. Paul now set out from *Antioch*. Pearson (c) likewise, and (d) *Basnage*, place it in the same year.

Witsius thinks, that (e) at this time Paul went from *Cilicia* to *Crete*: and that not being able to stay long there himself, he left *Titus*, that he might set in order the things that were wanting, and ordain Elders in every city. ch. i. 5. Pearson (f) placeth Paul's journey into *Crete* in the later part of the Apostle's life, in 63. or 64. after the deliverance from his imprisonment at *Rome*.

But

(c) *Ann. Paul.* p. 10.

(d) *Ann.* 50. num. xlv.

(e) Ex *Cilicia* videtur Paulus in *Cretam* navigasse, et praedicato ibi evangelio, quoniam alio properabat, Titum reliquisse, ut quae defunt corrigeret, atque oppidatim presbyteros constitueret. Quae *Lucae* omissa, ex epistola ad Titum supplenda esse, et huic tempori optime convenire, opinatur L. Cappellus. At Pearsonus ad postrema Pauli tempora refert, eaque ejus itinera, quae solutionem ex vinculis Romanis consecuta sunt. . . . Cappelli tamen rationes petiores hic mihi videntur. Non enim verisimile est, ad illud usque tempus ignoratum fuisse Christum in *Creta*, quum tota *Achaia*. . . . personarent evangelii praeconio. . . . Deinde *Derben* et *Lystram* venit. Ibi in *Timotheum* incidit, fidissimum sibi abhinc omnium itinerum suorum futurum comitem. &c. *De Vita Paul.* sect. v. num. i.

(f) *Ann. Paulin.* p. 21.

But *Witsius* says, it is not likely, that the preaching of the Gospel in *Crete* should have been deferred so long : when all *Achaia*, *Macedonia*, *Asia*, *Cyprus*, *Syria*, had been already instructed in the doctrine of the gospel. And he observes, that not long after *Paul* was come from *Cilicia*, he took *Timothie* into his attendance, to supply, as he thinks, the want of *Titus*, lately left in *Crete*.

Though I cannot say, that *Paul* now went from *Cilicia* to *Crete*, I readily own my-self to be of opinion, that the Apostle's journey into *Crete* was performed, and his letter to *Titus* writ, before his imprisonment at *Jerusalem*. But of this more hereafter.

Having gone through *Syria* and *Cilicia*, confirming the churches, *Paul* came to *Derbe*, and *Lystra* : where they had been before. Here they found *Timothie*, who, as may be supposed, had been converted, when *Paul* and *Barnabas* were there together. *Timothie* having a good character, from the brethren at *Lystra* and *Iconium*, *Paul* would have him to go forth with him. Acts xvi. 1. 3.

Afterwards they came into *Pbrygia*. And it may be reckoned very probable, that now *Paul* preached in the chief cities of that country,

countrey, *Hierapolis*, *Laodicea*, and *Colosse*. He also went into *Galatia*, and there founded many churches. But they were forbidden to preach in *Asia*, properly so called. St. Luke's words are ver. 6. 7. *Now when they had gone through Phrygia, and the region of Galatia, and were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia, after they were come to Mysia, they assayed to go into Bithynia. But the Spirit suffered them not.*

Then it follows ver. 8. . . . 10. *And they passing by Mysia, came to Troas. And a vision appeared to Paul in the night. There stood a man of Macedonia, and prayed him, saying : Come over into Macedonia, and help us. And after he had seen the vision, immediatly we endeavored to go into Macedonia, assuredly gathering, that the Lord had called us to preach the gospel unto them.*

By which manner of speaking we perceive, that *Luke* was now in *Paul's* company. It is likely, that he met them at *Troas*. Which seems to have been the name of a countrey, and of a city, the chief of the countrey, situate upon the sea-coast.

Ver. 11. 12. *Therefore loosing from Troas, we came with a straight course to Samothracia, and the next day to Neapolis : and thence*

to

to Philippi, which is the chief city of that part of Macedonia, and a colonie. And we were in that city abiding certain days.

Samothracia was an island, over-against *Thrace*, bordering upon *Macedonia*. *Neapolis* was a town upon the sea-coast, on the *Thracian* side of the *Strymonic* Bay, which separated *Macedonia* and *Thrace*. Here, I suppose, they landed, but made no stay. Thence they went by land to *Philippi*. Here they staid some while, and several remarkable occurrences in that city are related by *St. Luke*. *Lydia*, a seller of purple, of the city of *Thyatira*, in *Asia*, attended to the things that were spoken of *Paul*, and was baptized, both she and her household. She seems to have been a merchant, of no small dealings, and probably, had with her many servants, and other attendents. Here likewise *Paul* healed the young maiden, said to be *possessed with a spirit of divination*. After which *Paul* and *Silas* were apprehended, beaten, and imprisoned. But they were soon set at liberty. Whereupon they left that city. ver. 13. . . 40.

From thence they passed through Amphipolis, and Apollonia, and came to Thessalonica, where was a synagogue of the Jews. Acts xvii. 1.

Am.

Amphipolis and *Apollonia* were cities of *Macedonia*. And *Thessalonica* was the chief city of that countrey. Here being a Jewish synagogue, *Paul*, as his manner was, went in unto them, and three sabbath-days reasoned with them out of the Scriptures. . . And some of them believed, and consorted with *Paul* and *Silas*. Whilst he was here, believed also, of the devout *Greeks*, that is, of the people of the countrey, who were well disposed, a great multitude, and of the chief women of the city not a few. But the unbelieving Jews made a great disturbance. ver. 2. . . 9.

The brethren therefore immediatly sent away *Paul* and *Silas* by night unto *Beroea*, where many of the Jews, and many of the men, and honorable women of the place, believed. But some Jews came from *Thessalonica*, and stirred up the people there also. ver. 10. . . 13.

The brethren therefore immediatly sent away *Paul*, and conducted him to *Athens*, with *Luke*, it is likely, the writer of this historie. But *Silas* and *Timothie* abode still at *Beroea*. St. *Luke* then gives an account of the Apostle's preaching at *Athens*. The event was, that some mocked. Howbeit some
adhered

adhered to Paul, and believed. Among which was Dionysius, the Areopagite, and a woman named Damaris, and others with them.

Acts xviii. 1. 2. *After these things Paul departed from Athens, and came to Corinth : and found a certain Jew, named Aquila, born in Pontus, lately come from Italie, with his wife Priscilla, because that Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome.*

The Council of Jerusalem, as before said, was held in the year 49. or 50. And it was supposed by us, that Paul might set out from Antioch in the year 50. before it was far advanced. If so, he might come now to Corinth, before the end of the year 51. For as Basnage computes, the Apostle's journeyings, after leaving Antioch till his coming to Corinth, need not take up more than a year and a half. I put below (g) his

(g) Redux a synodo Paulus, post dies aliquot morae Antiochenae, mox in Syriam et Ciliciam proficiscitur. Quibus peragratis, continuo in Pisidiam, Lycaoniam, Phrygiam penetravit, haud longâ usquam morâ, ut verbo *διελευσέν* ostenditur. Hinc solvens Troade, per Samothraciam delatus est Macedoniam, ubi dies non multos exegit. Mox per Amphipolim, et Apolloniam, Thessalonicam, Macedoniae metropolim, pervenit, ubi per sabbata tria differuit. Motâ seditione, Beroeam noctu petiit : qua salutatâ, eâ discessit propter adventum Judaeorum. . . . et Athenas pervenit : quâ post aliquantulâ

his brief enumeration of all the places, which have been lately taken notice of by us. But he did not think of the journey into *Crete*, mentioned by *Witfus*. Nor do I suppose it to have been then performed. This computation suits *Paul's* finding *Aquila* and *Priscilla* at *Corinth*. For he thinks, that edict of *Claudius* to have been published in the eleventh year of his reign, which began on Jan. 24. in the year 51.

At *Corinth* *Paul* tarried a year and six months. ch. xviii. 11. that is, as I suppose, the remainder of the year 51. and all 52. and part of 53. — And then he took leave of the brethren, and sailed thence into *Syria*, and with him *Priscilla*, and *Aquila*, having shorn his head in *Cenchrea*. For he had a vow. And he came to *Ephesus*, and left them there. But he entred into the synagogue, and reasoned with the Jews. When they desired him to tarry longer time with them, he consented not :

quantulam temporis moram relicta, Corinthum anno 51. ingressus est. Nostram non minimum adjuvat chronologiam adventus Aquilae in hanc urbem Romam nuper edicto Claudiano pulsi : quod probabilissimam sane conjecturam anno Claudii xi. promulgatum esse colligitur. Ut a synodo ad peregrinationem usque Corinthum sesquiannus circiter elapsus sit. *Basn. ann. 50. num. xxii. Vid. et ann. 51. n. lxviii. lxix.*

but bid them farewell, saying : I must by all means keep this feast at Jerusalem : meaning, as I apprehend, the feast of Pentecost in the year 53. But I will return again unto you, if God will. And he sailed from Ephesus. And when he had landed at Cesarea, and gone up, and saluted the church, namely, at Jerusalem, he went down to Antioch. And after he had spent some time there, he departed, and went over all the countrey of Galatia, and Phrygia, in order, that is, visiting the churches, formerly planted by him, in those countreys, strenghtening all the disciples. ver. 18. . . 23.

In this space of time, after *Paul* had left *Ephesus*, came thither *Apollos*, born at *Alexandria*. Who received from *Aquila* and *Priscilla* farther instructions concerning the Christian Religion, beyond what he knew before, and then went away to *Corinth*. ver. 24. . . 28.

Ch. xix. 1. *And it came to pass, that while Apollos was at Corinth, Paul having passed through the upper coasts, meaning the countreys of Galatia and Phrygia, before mentioned, came to Ephesus : that is, as I apprehend, before the end of the year 53. possibly, in October, or November.*

I hope,

I hope, I have allowed time enough for all the journeys hitherto mentioned : and that I have not brought *Paul* to *Ephesus* too soon.

Ver. 8. . . . 10. Says St. *Luke* : *And he went into the synagogue, and spake boldly for the space of three months, disputing, and persuading the things concerning the kingdom of God. But when divers were hardened, and believed not, but spake evil of that way before the multitude, he departed from them, and separated the disciples, disputing daily in the school of one Tyrannus. And this continued by the space of two years. So that all they which dwelt in Asia, strictly (b) so called, the country, of which Ephesus was the metropolis, heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks. St. Paul, afterwards, Acts xx. 31. in his discourse to the Elders of Ephesus,*

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at

(b) Atque hinc diversae notiones vocis *Asiae* oriuntur, ut *latissima* tertiam orbis terrarum Continentem sonet, Europae ab ortu oppositam : *latior* magnam peninsulam inter Ponticum et Mediterraneum mare : *lata* Asiam cis Taurum, vel intra eum montem. Deinde *stricta* est provincia proconsularis : *strictius* media pars illius provinciae, circa Ephesum et Lydiam propriam : *strictissime*, Homerica notione, parvus tractus ad Caystrum fluvium. Sacris scriptoribus significatio illa placuit, quam *strictiorem* modo diximus, uti ex iis, quae varie adhuc dicta sunt, elucet. *Cellar. Diff. de sept. eccles. Asiae* §. ix.

at *Miletus*, says, he had been with them *the space of three years*. Which may be a round number. *Three months*, at least, he had *disputed* in the Jewish synagogue, and *two years* in the school of *Tyrannus*, and, possibly, somewhat more, making, in the whole, a good deal above two, which *St. Paul* might call *three years*.

I think, that *Paul* might come to *Ephesus*, before the end of the year 53. in October, or November, as before said. There he continued the remainder of that year, and the whole of the years 54. and 55. till the year 56. about Pentecost. However, let us observe the historie.

From ver. 11. to 41. the end of the fore-cited xix. chapter of the Acts is *St. Luke's* account of the special miracles wrought by *Paul* at *Ephesus*, and divers remarkable events, and then of a tumult raised by *Demetrius*, a silversmith, and other work-men, of like occupation.

Then Acts xx. 1. . . 6. *And after the uproar had ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia. And when he had gone over those parts, and had given them much exhor-*

exhortation, he came into Greece. And there abode three months. And when the Jews laid wait for him, as he was about to sail into Syria, he purposed to return through Macedonia. And there accompanied him into Asia Sopater of Beroea, and of the Thessalonians Aristarchus and Secundus, and Gaius of Derbe, and Timothie, and of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus. These going before tarried for us at Troas. And we sailed away from Philippi, after the days of unleavened bread, and came unto them to Troas, in five days, where we abode seven days.

There is not, perhaps, any part of St. Paul's travels attended with more difficulties, than this period, of his leaving *Ephesus*, and setting out upon his voyage to *Jerusalem*, with the collections made in the churches of *Greece* and *Macedonia*, and some other places. St. Luke is very distinct and particular in the account of the journey from *Troas* to *Jerusalem*. But from *Ephesus* to *Troas* he has mentioned but one city only, which is *Philippi*. Otherwise, as we have seen in the passage just transcribed, he speaks only of the countreys of *Macedonia*, and *Greece*.

We will therefore endeavor to settle the time, when *Paul* left *Ephesus*, and then consider, how long he might be in *Macedonia*, or other places, before he went to *Troas*.

After having related *Paul's* preaching at *Ephesus* for a good while, and the success of it, *St. Luke* says in the forecited xix. 21. 22. 23. *After these things were ended, Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying : After I have been there, I must see Rome. So he sent into Macedonia two of them that ministered to him, Timothie and Erastus. But he himself staid in Asia for a season. At the same time there arose no small stir about that way : meaning the tumult caused by Demetrius, as before mentioned.*

Lightfoot has a happy thought upon this place. “ *Paul's* thoughts, says (i) he, of “ going to *Rome* argue the death of *Claudius*, “ who had banished all the Jews from “ thence, *Acts* xviii. 2. and that by the “ coming in of *Nero*, a new Emperour, that “ decree was extinct, and freedom of access “ to *Rome* opened to them again. For it “ can be little conceived, that *Paul* should think

(i) *Harmonie of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 299.*

“ think of going thither, when he could
“ neither find any of his nation there, nor
“ himself come thither without certain ha-
“ zard of his life : as the case would have
“ been, if *Claudius* and his decree were yet
“ alive. It is therefore agreeable to all rea-
“ son, that the death of *Claudius*, and the
“ succession of *Nero*, were now divulged.
“ And *Paul* thereupon knowing, that it was
“ now lawful again for a Jew to go to *Rome*,
“ intendeth to take a farewell journey and
“ visit to *Macedonia*, *Achaia*, and *Jerusalem*,
“ and then to go and preach there.”

Claudius died Oct. 13. in the year 54.
It might be the beginning of 55. before the
tidings of the death of *Claudius* and the ac-
cession of *Nero* reached *Ephesus*. Upon
which, or soon after, the thought of going
to *Rome* entred *Paul*'s mind. But he intend-
ed first to go to *Macedonia*, and *Greece*, and
Jerusalem.

So, says St. Luke, *he sent into Macedonia*
two of them that ministered unto him, Timothee
and Erastus. But he himself stayed in Asia
for a season.

By which we are led to think, that those
messengers were sent into *Macedonia* in the

year 55. After they were gone, came to *Paul* at *Ephesus*, from *Corinth*, *Stephanas*, *Fortunatus*, and *Achaicus*. 1 Cor. xvi. 17. By them he sends his first epistle to the *Corinthians*, writ, as I suppose, in the begining of the year 56. And it appears from 1 Cor. xvi. 10. 11. that *Timothie*, who, as before seen, had been sent into *Macedonia*, was also to go to *Corinth*. For there the Apostle says: *Now if Timothie come, see that he may be with you without fear. For he worketh the work of the Lord, as I also do. Let no man therefore despise him: but conduct him forth in peace, that he may come unto me. For I look for him with the brethren.* *Paul* therefore was in expectation of *Timothie's* coming to him at *Ephesus*. Which I suppose he did, before *Paul* removed thence. *Paul* says. 1 Cor. xvi. 8. 9. *But I will tarry at Ephesus, untill Pentecost. For a great door and effectual is opened unto me. And there are many adversaries.* The *Pentecost*, there mentioned, I suppose to be that of the year 56.

Some time therefore in the year 56. before *Pentecost*, or about that season, *Paul* left *Ephesus* to go into *Macedonia*. So says *St. Luke* in his account of *Paul's* removal from

from *Ephesus*. He first mentions *Macedonia*, and then *Greece*. Acts xx. 1. 2. And from what *Paul* says 2 Cor. ii. 12. it is argued, that (*k*) he did not sail away directly from *Ephesus* to *Macedonia*: but travelled by land to *Troas*, and then went over to *Macedonia*, by sea. If so, he went now into *Macedonia*, by the same way that he had done, when he was first there. Acts xvi. 11. 12.

But how long was *Paul* now in *Macedonia* and *Achaia*? or what space of time was there between his leaving *Ephesus*, and *Troas*, and his return to *Troas*, in his way to *Jerusalem*. If it was a year only, or somewhat less, the Passover mentioned Acts xx. 6. and the Pentecost, mentioned ver. 16. were in the year 57. But if *Paul's* journey from *Ephesus*, round about by *Troas*, *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*, and *Macedonia* again, to *Troas*,
in

(*k*) Sed quid interea Paulus, postquam Epheso profectus est, ut iret in Macedoniam? Per Minorem Asiam iter faciens, venit Troadem nobilissimam civitatem, quae adjacet Helle-sponto: ubi quaerens Titum, cum non invenisset, transmissio freto abiit in Macedoniam. 2 Cor. ii. Baron. ann. 57. num. clxxxv.

Paul ne s'embarqua pas à Ephese, mais il vint à Troade dans le dessein d'y prescher l'evangile. Tillem. S. Paul. art. 31.

in the way to *Jerusalem*, took up two years, or thereabout, then the Pentecost mentioned Acts xx. 16. was in the year of Christ 58. And, if I mistake not, there are several considerations, leading us to think, that these journeyings took up more, than the space of a year.

It need not to be doubted, that *Timothie* returned from *Corinth* to *Paul*, before the Apostle removed from *Ephesus*. And that *Paul* left him there, will be manifest from that, which is called the first epistle to *Timothie*. *As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some, that they teach no other doctrine.* 1 Tim. i. 3. *Paul* therefore left *Timothie* at *Ephesus*, for weighty reasons : and some time after his coming into *Macedonia*, wrote him a letter, for his direction and assistance in the arduous work, lying before him. But *Timothie* was with *Paul*, at writing the second epistle to the *Corinthians*. For it begins thus : *Paul an Apostle of Jesus Christ . . . and Timothie our brother unto the church of God, which is at Corinth, with all the saints in all Achaia.* That letter was sent from *Macedonia*, a little before *Paul* went to *Corinth*. But some good while
must

must have passed between *Paul's* leaving *Timothie* at *Ephesus*, and writing to him, and this second epistle to the *Corinthians*. *Paul*, it is very probable, did not send for *Timothie* to come to him from *Ephesus* presently after he had left him there. I might add, that there must have been some emergent occasions, that induced *Paul* to call *Timothie* to him from *Ephesus*, where his presence was of great importance. What those occasions were, *Luke* has not at all hinted. But they may be supposed. However, I do not now stay, to hint what they were.

Paul in his second epistle to the *Corinthians*. ch. i. and xiii. 1. apologizeth for his deferring so long to come to them. But there could have been no occasion for such apologies, if he had come to them in the same year that he wrote his first epistle.

Paul says 1 Cor. xvi. 5. 6. *Now I will come unto you, when I shall pass through Macedonia. . . . And it may be, that I will abide, yea, and winter with you.* But *Paul* did not abide, and winter with them, according to this proposal, as here intimated. If he had, there could have been no ground for such apologies, as are in the second epistle. Nevertheless the Apostle did spend three months with

with them, not very long before a passover. Which must have been partly in some winter. As they could not be in the year 56. when the first epistle to them was writ, they must have been in the year after, that is about the end of the year 57. and the beginning of the year 58. See again Acts xx. 1. . . . 6.

St. Paul says 2 Cor. ix. 2. *For I know the forwardnesse of your mind. For which I boast of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year ago. And your zeal has provoked very many.* Which plainly shews, that it was now above a year, since writing the first epistle to the *Corinthians*, which was sent from *Ephesus*. For there he says ch. xii. 1. 2. *Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given directions to the churches of Galatia, so do ye. Upon the first day of the week, let every one of you lay by him in store, as God has prospered him : that there be no gatherings, when I come.* These directions were then sent to the *Corinthians*. They therefore were not readie then. They could not be readie, till some while after. And yet, at the time of writing the second epistle to them, from *Macedonia*, they had been readie above a year.

This

This shews, that *Paul* was above a year in *Macedonia*, or near it. Moreover after sending away this second letter, *Paul* went to *Corinth*, and staid there *three months*. And afterwards went thence through *Macedonia* to *Troas*.

Consequently there was the space of two years, or almost two years, between *Paul's* leaving *Ephesus*, and coming to *Troas*, in his way to *Jerusalem*.

As *Paul* did not winter at *Corinth* in the year 56. we are led to think of *Nicopolis*, mentioned *Titus* iii. 12.

Before I proceed, I must take some farther notice of the words of 2 Cor. i. 15. 16. *And in this confidence I was minded to come unto you before, or first, that you might have a second benefit : and to pass by you into Macedonia, and to come again out of Macedonia to you, and of you to be brought on my way toward Judea.* Hence it may be concluded, that in the beginning of the year 56. before *Paul* left *Ephesus*, he once had hopes of getting to *Judea*, in the year following, that is, in the year 57. probably at Passover, or Pentecost, and that he had been prevented. He then intended to go from *Ephesus*
to

to *Corinth*, thence to *Macedonia*, and to return from *Macedonia*, to *Corinth*, that by the Christians there he *might be brought on his way to Judea*. But by some means he had been carried into a different course. He had not yet been in *Judea*. Nor was he yet come to *Corinth*, though he had been in *Macedonia*. And, probably, he did not get into *Judea* before the Pentecost in 58. These words therefore must induce us to think, that there was a longer space of time between *Paul's* leaving *Ephesus*, and coming to *Corinth*, and *Jerusalem*, than has been generally supposed of late.

Baronius says, that (l) during this period *Paul* was in *Crete*, as well as in *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*, as does (m) *Lightfoot* : who also supposeth (n) *Paul* to have been now in *Illyricum*.

Dr. Benson (o) thinks, that *Paul* might say, as he does *Rom. xv. 19.* that he had preached the gospel from *Jerusalem* round about unto *Illyricum*, “ upon account of his
“ being, and that more than once, in *Ma-*
“ *cedonia*,

(l) *Ann. 57. num. ccix.*

(m) *Lightfoot. Harm. of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 309.*

(n) *Ibid. p. 307.*

(o) *Upon the Acts Vol. 2. p. 174. first ed. p. 194. the second ed.*

“*cedonia*, which bordered upon *Illyricum*,
 “the *Scardican* montains, and the river
 “*Drilo*, being the boundaries between
 “them.” And after the like manner *Witsius*, who thinks, that (*p*) *Paul* did not intend to say, that he had preached in *Illyricum*. For he only makes it the boundarie of his labours. However, he says, that *Apollonia* was a city of *Illyricum*.

Wall upon Acts xx. 2. (*q*) says, “*St. Paul* did many great things in that nine months time. [So he computes.] It must have been during that space, I think, that he
 made

(*p*) Deinde iter fecerunt per Amphipolim urbem Philip-
 pis vicinam, et Apolloniam quae est Corinthiorum et Corcy-
 raeorum colonia, civitas Illyriae. Sic enim Stephanus. . . .
 Verum id nostrae nunc potissimum considerationis est, quod
 Apollonia urbs illyrica sit. Pertinet hoc ad illustrationem
 illius quod Paulus Romanis scripsit. xv. 19. . . . Multorum
 iste locus ingenia fatigavit, non invenientium, quo tempore
 Paulus evangelium, in Illyrico, quod supponunt, praedica-
 vit. . . . Sed quid laboramus in cassum? Primo enim Illyri-
 cum non comprehendit Paulus suis itineribus, quasi id quoque
 evangelium praedicando peragraverit: sed Illyricum statuit
 itinerum suorum terminum. Venit enim ad limites Illyrici,
 quando venit Apolloniam. Optime Grotius ad Rom. xv. 19.
 Macedonia, quam peragravit Paulus, Dalmatiam attingit,
 quae pars Illyrici, et ipsum mare Illyricum. In eo tractu est
 Apollonia, nominata Act. xvii. 1. *Wits. de Vit. Paul. sect.*
v. num. xi.

(*q*) *Wall's Notes upon the N. T. p. 205.*

made an excursion into *Illyricum*, and preached the gospel there."

Mr. *Biscoe* delivers his thoughts in this manner: "In (r) the same epistle he says: "*From Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ.*" Which is a general confirmation of the whole historie of his travels in the book of the Acts. For in that historie he is said to have gone through *Syria, Cilicia*, and most, if not all the countries in *Penninsular Asia*, to have gone over into *Europe*, and to pass through *Macedonia* into *Greece*. Now *Beroea*, the last city, in which *St. Paul* is said to have preached in *Macedonia*, could not be far from *Desfaretia*, which was part of the ancient *Illyricum*. At the same time I must own, it does not seem at all improbable to me, that *St. Paul* might in one of his journeys through *Macedonia*, (for *St. Luke* relates his passing through *Macedonia* three times :) make an excursion into some of the nearer parts of *Illyricum*, and plant the gospel among them, though not taken
" notice

(r) Upon the Acts. p. 424. 425.

“ notice of in the historie of the (s) Acts:
 “ It is certain however, that during St. Paul’s
 “ life the gospel was preached even in the
 “ remoter parts of *Illyricum*, and not im-
 “ probably by the Apostle himself, after his
 “ release from his first imprisonment at *Rome*.
 “ For in his second epistle to *Timothie*, writ-
 “ ten when he was a second time prisoner in
 “ that great city, he informs him, that he
 “ had sent *Titus* into *Dalmatia*.”

If I were to alter the later part of that paragraph, agreeably to my apprehensions, it would stand thus: “ It is certain, that
 “ during St. Paul’s life the gospel was
 “ preached even in the remoter parts of *Il-lyricum*, and more than probable by the
 “ Apostle himself, and that before his im-
 “ prisonment at *Rome*, when he was sent
 “ thither from *Judea* by *Festus*. For in his
 “ second epistle to *Timothie*, writ during

(s) “ All that St. Luke says of his second journey is
 “ this: *And when he had gone over those parts, and had given*
 “ *them much exhortation, he came into Greece.* Acts xx. 2. All
 “ that is said of the third journey is, that whereas he intend-
 “ ed to have sailed from *Greece* into *Syria*; knowing that the
 “ Jews laid wait for him, he changed his mind, and passed
 “ through *Macedonia*. ver. 3. . . . 6. At either of these times
 “ he might make an excursion into *Illyricum*, but most pro-
 “ bably in his second journey.” *That is a note of Mr. Biscoe*
at p. 425.

“ that his imprisonment at *Rome*, he informs him, that he had sent *Titus* into “ *Dalmatia*.”

The second epistle to *Timothie* having been writ at that time, if any argument can be fetched from it, it must prove, that *Paul* had been in *Illyricum*, before he went to *Jerusalem*, and probably, at the time, which we are now speaking of.

It appears to me very probable, that at this time *Paul* was in *Illyricum*, and *Crete*. But I cannot digest the order of his journeys, since *St. Luke* has not related them. *St. Luke* says nothing of *Paul*’s going to *Troas*. He only says, that *Paul* went from *Ephesus* to *Macedonia*, and then came into *Greece*. Though *Paul* was preparing for his journey to *Jerusalem*, with contributions of Gentil churches, he was not in a hurrie. Nor were those collections his only concern. Notwithstanding the tumult at *Ephesus*, he took leave of his friends there with a good deal of deliberation. *St. Luke*’s words are *Acts xx. 1. And after the uproar was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia*. Nor does *St. Luke* represent the Apostle in great haste in that countrey. For he

he says : ver. 2. *And when he had gone over those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece.*

It is now a common opinion, that (t) St. Paul did not go directly to Macedonia from Ephesus, but went by land to Troas, and there crossed over to Macedonia. It is evident, that before he wrote his second epistle to the Corinthians, from Macedonia, he had been at Troas. For 2 Cor. ii. 12. he says, *he came to Troas, to preach Christ's gospel, and that a door was opened to him of the Lord.* There is no absurdity in supposing, that St. Luke, who says nothing of Paul's having been then at Troas, and omitted the Apostle's journey into Arabia, and indeed many other things, has omitted an account of his going to Crete and Illyricum. Wall, and others, who compute no more than nine months between Paul's leaving Ephesus, and coming to Troas, in the way to Jerusalem, may find a difficulty in admitting what we contend for. But I think, I have shewn it to be a space of almost two years, or about a year

I 2

and

(t) " He did not go directly from Ephesus to Macedonia, that is, he did not take shipping at Ephesus : (that was not safe :) but escaped by land to Troas, as he says 2 Cor. ii. 12. and from thence took ship to Macedonia." Wall's critical notes upon the N. T. p. 205.

and three quarters. This alone will render it probable, that somewhat was done by *Paul*, beside what is mentioned by *St. Luke* in Acts xx. i. . . . 6.

St. Paul's words in the epistle to the *Romans*, writ at *Corinth*, in this period, are very remarkable: *so that from Jerusalem, and round about, unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ. . . . For which cause also I have been much hindered from coming unto you. But now having no more place in these parts, and having a great desire these many years to come unto you.* ch. xv. 19. 22.

23. He seems now, as it were, at ease, knowing what he had done, and considering, that there was nothing more left to be done by him in those parts. And why should not *Illyricum* be understood in the same manner, as *Jerusalem*? He had been at *Jerusalem*: and consequently, I think, in *Illyricum* likewise. And I should apprehend, that now was the time, when *Paul* could first say so much, as he here does.

Jerome had no doubt, but that *Paul* was in *Illyricum*. "Christ, says (u) he, was

(u) *Erat igitur uno eodemque tempore et cum Apostolis quadraginta diebus . . . cum Thoma in India, cum Paulo in Illyrico, cum Tito in Creta, cum Andrea in Achaia. Ad Marcell. T. 4. P. i. p. 167. Bened.*

was with *Peter* at *Rome*, with *Paul* in *Illyricum*, with *Titus* in *Crete*." That opinion, it is likely, was built upon this text in the epistle to the *Romans*. Consequently, it is to be supposed, that *Paul* had been in *Illyricum*, before writing that epistle. Nor can any season be thought of more likely, than this period, between his leaving *Ephesus*, and coming to *Troas*, in the way to *Jerusalem*.

I suppose, *Theodoret* to be of the same mind with us, and to confirm what we are now saying, in his comment upon Rom. xv. 19. "He (x) shews, to how many people " he had preached : so that *from Jerusalem*, " *and round about unto Illyricum*, I have " *fully preached the gospel of Christ*. As if " he had said : I have not cultivated the na- " tions in a strait line only : but going round " about I have planted the doctrine of the " gospel in the Eastern countreys, and also " in *Pontus*, and likewise in *Asia*, and *Thrace*. " That is what he intends by *round about*."

I 3

And

(x) Διδάσκει δὲ καὶ πόσοις ἐκήρυξεν ἔθνεσιν . . . οὐ γὰρ τὰ κατὰ τὴν εὐθείαν ὁδὸν παρακείμενα ἔθνη ἐγεώργησα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κύκλῳ περὶ μὲν, τότε ἑᾶς, καὶ τὰ ποντικὰ μέρη, καὶ πρὸς τέτοις τὰ κατὰ ἀσίαν, καὶ τὴν θράκην, τῆς διδασκαλίας ἐπλήρωσα. Τῷτο γὰρ δηλοῖ τὸ κύκλῳ. *Theod. in loc. T. 3. p. 111. 112.*

And *Euthalius*, in his prologue to St. *Paul's* fourteen epistles, reckons †† *Illyricum* among the countreys, where *Paul* had preached, and says, that he converted a large part of it to the faith of Christ.

It may be not improper for us to give here some attention to the historie of *Aquila* and *Priscilla*. They were with *Paul* at *Ephesus*, when he wrote his first epistle to the *Corinthians*, in the spring of the year 56. For he sends their salutations in these words: *The churches of Asia salute you. Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord, with the church that is in their house.* 1 Cor. xvi.

19. The Jews having been banished from *Rome* by an edict of *Claudius*, they came to *Corinth*, a short time before *Paul*. Acts xviii. 1. . . . 3. When *Paul* went from *Corinth* to *Ephesus*, and *Jerusalem*, they went with him as far as *Ephesus*, and tarried there. 18. 19. When *Paul* wrote the epistle to the *Romans*, at the end of his second peregrination in *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, in the spring of the year 58. (as we suppose) they were at *Rome*. For *Paul* sends his salutations

†† πολλὰς μὲν πόλεις, πολλὰς δὲ χώρας περιενόησεν, μικρῶν δὲ τὸ ἰλλυρικὸν ἅπαν τῶν τῆς εἰς χριστὸν εὐσεβείας δογμάτων ἐνέπλησε. *Euthal. ap. Zac. p. 520.*

tions to them. Rom. xvi. 3. Afterwards they returned to *Ephesus*. For *Paul* sends his salutations to them in his second epistle to *Timothie*, then at *Ephesus*. 2 Tim. iv. 19. which epistle I think to have been writ in the summer of the year 61. soon after *Paul's* coming a prisoner to *Rome*. And it has been supposed, that they continued at *Ephesus* the remainder of their life. Which to me seems not improbable. It is likely, that soon after *Paul* went from *Ephesus* to *Macedonia*, which he did in *April* or *May* 56. they also went from *Ephesus* to *Rome*. They might return thither, with a view to settle some secular affairs, they having before left *Rome* in a hurrie, in compliance with the edict of *Claudius*. Or they returned to *Rome* with a design to continue there. For they seem to have had their familie with them. Says St. *Paul*, in the place before referred to, Rom. xvi. 3. . . . 5. *Salute Priscilla and Aquila . . . and the church in their house*. Mr. *Biscoe* (y) explaining these words, *the church in their house*, says, "they had, it is probable, a "considerable number of servants to carry "on their trade. These, doubtless, were "taught by them the Christian faith: by

I 4

" which

(y) Upon the *Acts*. p. 433.

“ which means they had a church in their
 “ house, wherever they settled.” And speaking
 of their being at *Corinth* he says : “ they
 “ (z) came from *Rome*, and settled at *Co-*
 “ *rinth* : in whose house at *Corinth* St. Paul
 “ took up his lodging, and wrought with
 “ them at their trade of tent-making.”

What I would observe is this : that there
 is nothing in the historie of these two excel-
 lent Christians, *Paul's* helpers, inconsistent
 with the account, which we have just given
 of this peregrination of *Paul*. Which is to
 this purpose. *Paul* removed from *Ephesus*
 in the spring of the year 56. and went into
Macedonia. But which way he went, I
 cannot tell, whether by the way of *Troas*,
 or some other course. He also was in *Crete*,
 and *Illyricum* about this time. Having spent
 the winter of 56. at *Nicopolis*, either in *Thrace*
 or *Epirus*, he came into *Macedonia*. Where he
 staid some while. And near the end of the year
 57. in November, or December, he came
 into *Achaia*, and particularly to *Corinth*,
 where he staid three months. Hence *Paul*
 intended to have sailed to *Syria*. But un-
 derstanding that the Jews laid wait for him,
 he returned again to *Macedonia*. And sailed
 away from *Philippi*, after the days of unlea-

(z) *The same*, p. 432.

vened bread, and came to his friends at Troas in five days. Acts xx. 3. . . 6. That Passover, which Paul kept at Philippi, we suppose to have been in the year 58. At Troas Paul staid seven days.

It is not needful for us to pursue distinctly Paul's journey thence to Jerusalem, it being very clearly laid down by St. Luke, in the remaining part of ch. xx. and the begining of xxi. I observe a few things only. xx. 13. *And we went before by ship to Assos, [from Troas,] there intending to take in Paul. For so he had appointed, minding himself to go afoot.* By which, I apprehend, we need not suppose, that Paul walked all that way: the original word, as seems to me, importing no more, than that Paul chose to go so far by land: whilst the rest of the companie went by water. ††

Ch. xx. 16. *For Paul had determined to sail by Ephesus, because he would not spend the time in Asia. For he hasted, if it were possible for him, to be at Jerusalem the day of Pentecost.* As I suppose he was, though it is

†† Μεταμεληθῆναι δ' αὐτὸς ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ τρεῖς μεταμελείας· μίαν μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ γυναικὶ πισεῦσαι λόγον ἀπόρρητον· ἑτέραν δὲ πλεῦσας, ὅπερ δυνατόν ἦν περὶ εἶσαι τὴν δὲ τρίτην, ὅτι μίαν ἡμέραν ἀδιάθετος ἔμενεν. Plutarch. Vit. M. Caton. Maj.

is not particularly mentioned by St. *Luke*. So says (a) *Lightfoot* : “ St. *Paul* cometh to “ *Jerusalem* at the feast of Pentecost, when “ the city was now full of a confluence to “ that festival.” Whereby we may be able to apprehend the greatnesse of the multitude of the people, as intimated by St. *Luke* xxi. 27... 36. and the extremity of the Apostle’s danger, and the terrifying circumstances of it.

We have now gone through a period of about eight years, from *Paul*’s leaving *Antioch*, not far from the begining of the year 50. to his coming to *Jerusalem* at the *Pentecost* in 58.

to the
End of his
Imprison-
ment at
Rome.

XI. I shall next observe the Apostle’s historie from this time to his deliverance from his imprisonment at *Rome*.

Paul was above two years in *Judea*. He came to *Jerusalem*, as just said, at the feast of Pentecost in the year 58. And he was sent away to *Rome* near the end of the year 60. St. *Luke*’s account of what happened to *Paul* in that space of time is in ch. xxi. 17. ..xxvi. 1... 32. For when he had been a few days at *Jerusalem*, he was seized by a rude and

(a) As before. Vol. i. p. 319.

and enraged multitude, who would have killed him, if he had not been rescued out of their hands by *Lyfias*, a Tribune, and the chief officer at *Jerusalem*, under the Roman Governour : who secured him in the castle of *Antonia*, binding him with two chains to two soldiers. But before *Paul* was carried into the castle, he made a speech to the people, as he stood upon the stairs going up into it. But the people not being at all mollified, and still shewing great rage, the Chief Captain ordered, that *Paul* should be brought into the castle. The next day he loosed *Paul* from his bonds, and brought him before the Jewish Council. But a great dissension arising in the Council between the members of it, the Captain was obliged to take him by force from them, and bring him into the castle. The day after the Captain being informed of a conspiracie to assassinate *Paul*, prudently sent him from *Jerusalem*, under a strong guard, to *Cesarea* by the seaside, where the Governour *Felix* resided. After two years imprisonment *Porcius Festus* came in the room of *Felix*, who, to gratify the Jews, left *Paul* bound. In a short time *Festus* brought this prisoner's cause to a hearing at *Cesarea*. And the Jews still prosecuting

prosecuting him with great earnestness, *Paul* appealed to *Cesar*. Then *Festus*, when he had conferred with his council, answered: *Hast thou appealed to Cesar? Unto Cesar thou shalt go.* A while after which *Paul*, and other prisoners in that countrey, were delivered to *Julius*, a Centurion, to be conducted by sea to *Italie*.

Whilst *Paul* was in *Judea*, he made a speech to the people at *Jerusalem*, already taken notice of, when he freely declared his principles and conduct. He was also brought by *Lyfias* before the whole Sanhedrim, or Jewish Council. He pleaded before *Felix* in answer to the accusations of *Tertullus*, and the Jews, who employed him. He preached before *Felix* and his wife *Drusilla*, and was several times in the presence of *Felix*. And before he was sent away to *Rome*, *Festus* gave him an opportunity to appear, and plead before himself, and King *Agrippa*, and *Bernice*, and the Tribunes, and principal men of *Cesarea*: when *Paul* gave that august assemblie an account of his doctrine, and of himself from his conversion to that time. And it is manifest, that *Paul's* discourse was well received. And both he and his doctrine were acquitted from all the charges

charges and accusations of the Jews. For when the companie had withdrawn, they said among themselves, where certainly they could speak with freedom : *This man does nothing worthie of death, or of bonds.*

Indeed, it must be owned, that *Paul* was civilly treated by all the Roman Officers, in *Judea*, *Lysias*, *Felix*, *Festus*, *Julius*. They all behaved, as Magistrates ought to do. They gave their prisoner and his accusers a fair hearing, that they might know the truth of the case. *Felix* was a bad man. Nevertheless, *he commanded a centurion to keep Paul, and to let him have liberty, and that he should forbid none of his acquaintance to minister, or to come to him.* ch. xxiv. 23. And he left *Paul* bound, when he should have released him. But it was only out of complaisance to the Jews, of whom he was afraid. And if there was any other defect of justice toward *Paul*, in the behaviour of the Roman Officers ; it may be fitly imputed to the powerful influence of the Jews, the people of the countrey : to whom Governours, sent in from abroad, would be obliged to shew a great regard from political considerations.

In ch. xxvii. and xxviii. 1. . . . 16. is an account of *Paul's* voyage to *Rome*, which
St.

St. *Luke* has related very distinctly. As it was near winter, when they set out ; they met with bad weather, and were wrecked on the island *Melita*, now called *Malta*, lying south of *Sicilie*. There they staid *three months. xxviii. 11.* and then sailed for *Italie* in a ship of *Alexandria*. They landed at *Puteoli*, and so went for *Rome*. *Paul*, and the other prisoners were delivered by the Centurion to the Captain of the Guard. How the other prisoners were disposed of, is not particularly related. *But Paul was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him. ver. 16.* And as *Paul* had appealed to the Emperour, I suppose, that he was soon brought before him, and that the method of his confinement was ordered by the Emperour himself. Of which I may say more hereafter, when we come to the second epistle to *Timothie*.

Says (b) *Lightfoot* : “ His accusers, that
 “ were come from *Judea* to lay in their
 “ charge against him (for we can hardly
 “ suppose otherwise, but that some such
 “ were come :) would be urgent to get
 “ their businesse dispatched, that they might
 “ be

(b) *As before; p. 322.*

“ be returning to their own home again.
 “ And so would bring him to trial as soon
 “ as they could. . . . As he appealed to
 “ Nero himself, so Nero himself heard his
 “ cause. Philip. i. 13. 2 Tim. iv. 16.”

So *Lightfoot*. And it appears to me very strange, that any should think, *Paul's* cause was not heard at all at *Rome*, during his two years stay there. And yet it has been the opinion of several learned men, particularly of (c) *James Cappell*, and (d) *Dr. Doddridge*, whose words I have placed below. And *Fr. Spanheim* speaks to the like purpose. But his sentiments are rejected by his friend (e) *Witsius*, as no better than trifling.

Paul

(c) Redit Romam causam acturus, quod in prima Romae mansione non comparuissent accusatores. *Jac. Capp. Compendies. in Apostol. Histor. Chronolog. Tab.*

(d) “ After this *Paul* continued two whole years at *Rome* “ in his own hired house, before he was heard by *Cesar*, or “ his deputy, upon his appeal.” *Upon Acts xxviii. 30. Family-Expositor. Vol. 3. p. 434.*

(e) Celeberrimus *Spanhemius* noster ad *Historiae Christianae seculum i.* . . . haec habet: *Dimissus nempe fuerat Paulus, ea lege, ut in Asia coram accusatoribus suis sisteretur, aut Romae rursus se sisteret, quum ante nulli in ipsum Romam missi a Judaeis essent. Ea occasione adiit Corinthum. . . . Sed apparentibus Hierosolyma Judaeis, Romam redire coactus est, anno, ut videtur, sequente: ubi coniectus in vincula, ibidemque ultima Pauli certamina. &c. . . .* Quae quam debili nitantur fundamento,

Paul came to *Rome* in the spring of the year, as all will readily think. Some learned men place his arrival there in (f) *Februarie*, others (g) in *April*. Here *Paul* dwelled two whole years in his own hired house. Therefore he was released from his confinement in the spring, two years after.

I suppose, *Paul* to have come to *Jerusalem* at the Pentecost of the year 58. to *Rome* in the spring of the year 61. and to have been released in the former part of the year 63. This period therefore is about the space of five years.

... to the
Time of his
Death.

XII. We are now to write the historie of our Apostle from this time to his death. But in this period we have no assistance from *St. Luke*, very little from the other books of the New Testament, nor very much from ancient

mento, non puto mihi esse ostendendum. *Witsf. de Vit. Pauli. sect. xii. num. xl.*

(f) Ita Paulus, postquam per tres menses Melitae hie-
masset, per Syracusas, Rhegium, et Puteolos, Romam venit
mense Febr. Neron. vii. *Pearson. Ann. Paul. p. 18. A. D. lxi.*

Ita tandem Paulus, post tot casus, post tot rerum discrimi-
na, Romam venit, anno vii. Neronis, mense Februario.
Witsf. ib. sect. xii. n. i.

See likewise Tillemont. *S. Paul. art. 42.*

(g) *Basnag. ann. 60. num. x.*

ancient authors, which can be depended upon, as certain.

Whither *Paul* went, after he had obtained his liberty, has been debated. Some think, that (*b*) he went from *Rome* to *Spain*. Others see not sufficient reason for that supposition. Among these are (*i*) *Lenfant* and *Beaufobre*, (*k*) *Basnage*, and (*l*) *Cellarius*, and (†*) *Du Pin*.

That

(*b*) Adveniente Timotheo, ex Italia profectus est in Hispaniam, quo iturum se dixerat in epistolâ ad Romanos. *Pearson. ib. p. 20.*

(*i*) Quelques anciens peres ont dit, que saint Paul ayant été mis en liberté, alla faire le voyage d'Espagne, dont il avoit formé le dessein cinq ou six ans auparavant. *Rom. xv. 24.* Mais outre que ces temoignages sont du quatrième ou du cinquième siecle, il semble que ces peres n'ont parlé de ce voyage, que sur ce qui S. Paul en a dit dans l'épître aux Romains. C'est au moins tout ce que S. Jerome allegue. . . Aussi les épîtres, que S. Paul écrivit durant sa captivité, temoignent, qu'il ne pensoit qu'à retourner en Grèce et en Asie, des qu'il seroit delivré. Pouvoit il avoir dans l'esprit un voyage en Espagne, lorsqu'il mandoit à Philemon, de lui préparer un logement ? Laisant donc une tradition, au moins fort incertaine, &c. *Lenf. et Beauf. Préf. générale sur les épîtres de S. Paul. §. liv. p. 33.*

(*k*) *Ann. 46. num. xlvi. . . . L.*

(*l*) Eruditis placet, et admodum est probable, Paulum prima captivitate, quam Lucas scripsit, liberatum in Graeciam et Asiam revertisse, adeoque bis Romae fuisse : in Hispaniam autem penetrasse, credibile non est. *Cbr. Cellar. de Itineribus S. Pauli Apostoli. §. xxviii.*

(†*) Il arriva à Rome au commencement de l'an 61.

That *Paul* went into *Spain*, has been argued from an expression of *Clement* in his epistle to the *Corinthians*, who there says of *Paul*, “ that (*m*) having taught the whole “ world righteousness, and having come to “ the borders of the west, and having suffered martyrdom, he went to the holie “ place.” Which some have rendred *the utmost bounds of the west*, and argue, that (*n*) hereby is meant *Spain*. I rather think, that *Clement* only meant *Italie*, or *Rome*, where *Clement* was, and where *Paul* suffered. From a note of *Le Clerc* upon the place we learn, that (*o*) *Bp. Fell* so understood *Clement*. The word *coming* also leads to this sense. If *Clement* had thought of *Spain*, or *Britain*, or any other places beyond that, in which himself was, he would not have said

Il en sortit au bout de deux ans. Plusieurs ont crû, qu'il avoit alors fait le voiage d'Espagne. Mais nous avons fait voir ailleurs, que cela est fort incertain. Il est plus vraisemblable, qu'il revint dans l'Asie, et dans la Grèce. *Du Pin. Diff. Prel. l. 2. ch. 2. §. viii.*

(*m*) Δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν, καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων. . . . κ. λ. *Clem. cap. v.*

(*n*) Et certe eam regionem vidit, quam Clemens Romanus ejus itinera commemorans appellat τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως. *Pearson. ibid.*

(*o*) Romae, hoc est in Hesperia, sive Italia. *Fell.*

said καὶ ἐλθὼν, *and having come*, but πορευ-
σάμενος, or some other equivalent word, *and
having gone to the bounds of the west*. *Lenfant*
and *Beaufobre* in their general preface to *St.*
Paul's epistles say, (p) *the bounds of the west*
signify nothing but *the west*. It is an expres-
sion, they say, borrowed from the Scrip-
tures, in which *the borders* of a countrey de-
note the countrey itself. In like manner by
those words *Clement* intended *Italie*.

However, another ground of this opinion
is what *St. Paul* himself says. Rom. xv. 24.
Whensoever I take my journey into Spain, I
will come to you. For I trust to see you in my
journey, and to be brought on my way thither-
ward by you, if first I be somewhat filled
with your companie. But *Paul's* measures
had been broken by his imprisonment at
Jerusalem, and the consequences of it. And
it was now at least five years, since writing
the epistle to the *Romans*. It is more likely,
that (q) when *Paul* left *Rome*, he went in-

K 2

to

(p) *Num. liv. p. 33.*

(q) Nos tamen praecipue movent petita ex Scripturis
argumenta, quibus aperte liquet, Paulum egressum Romano-
rum carcere, in Orientem se contulisse. Documento sane
magno, mutatum esse jubente Deo Pauli consilium, quo in
Hispaniae tractum ex civitate Romana proficisci statuerat.

. . . Illud

to the East, and Greece. For in his letters, writ near the end of his confinement there, he expresseth hopes of so doing. Philip. ii. 23. 24. speaking of *Timothie*, he says : *Him therefore I hope to send presently, so soon as I shall see, how it will go with me. But I trust in the Lord, that I also my-self shall come shortly.* Compare i. 20. . . 25. . . And he says to *Philemon*, an inhabitant of *Colosse*. ver. 22. *But withall prepare me also a lodging. For I trust, that through your prayers, I shall be given unto you.* And in the epistle to the *Hebrews*, probably, writ by *Paul* to the Jews of *Judea*, and *Jerusalem*, he says xiii. 18. 19. *Pray for us. . . . And I beseech you the rather to do this, that I may be restored to you the sooner.* And lower, ver. 23. *Know ye, that our brother Timothie is set at liberty. With whom, if he come shortly, I will see you.* Moreover, it is not impossible, but that *Paul* may have taken care of *Spain* by sending thither some of his fellow-laborers, whilst he was prisoner at *Rome*.

As

. . . Illud etiam nobis est vero proximum, peregrinationem Pauli Hispanicam ex verbis Pauli fabricatam. . . . Unde collegerunt, quod decreverat, illud executioni esse mandatum. Quae tamen non est apta argumentandi ratio. &c. *Basu, Ann. 46. num. xlix.*

As I suppose the epistle to the *Hebrews* to have been writ after that to *Philemon*, I am apt to think, that *Paul* came from *Rome* to *Jerusalem*, as soon, and as directly, as he could. But he made there a short stay only. From *Judea* I think it likely that he went to *Ephesus*, and there left *Timothie*: whom about two years before he had sent for to come to him from *Ephesus* to *Rome*. From *Ephesus* *Paul* might go to *Laodicea* and *Colosse*. And, possibly, he returned to *Rome* by *Troas*, *Philippi*, and *Corinth*.

Some have hesitated to allow, that *Paul* ever came again into this countrey, because he says, *Acts* xx. 25. *And now, behold, I know, that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more.* But *Lewis Cappell* (r) has

K 3

well

(r) Sed responderi potest, Paulum non semel ex humana conjectura, atque ex humano spiritu, consilio, et proposito, multa ejusmodi cogitasse, putasse, proposuisse, ac dixisse. Quae tamen postea, Deo ita disponente, aliter ceciderunt. . . . Itaque mirum videri non debet, si cum Spiritus Paulum oppidatim moneret vincula et afflictiones graves manere eum Jerosolymis, sentiretque se Spiritu ligatum, ut eo nihilominus proficisceretur, nesciens quaenam essent illic sibi eventura, desperaverit de reditu suo ad eos, quos post se relinquebat, licet Deo ita disponente . . . res aliquot post annis ceciderit aliter,

well removed that difficulty. I therefore have placed below a part of his observations. And says *Wall (s)* upon the place : “ *Εγώ* “ *ᾔδα*, *I know*, when spoken of things future, does not, (as it is used by *St. Paul*,) “ always signify a certain knowledge, or a “ prophetic certainty : but often means only “ thus much : *I take it for granted : I am* “ *fully persuaded : I foresee it highly probable :* “ *I have no other expectation.* And the like.” See also what there follows.

They who think, that *Paul* did come again into this countrey, but nevertheless was not at *Ephesus*, seem not to attend to *St. Paul's* expressions, who does not say to the Elders of *Ephesus* : *I know, that you will see me no more.* But his words are these : *And now, behold, I know, that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more.* The Apostle then thought, that he should never more come into those parts. Consequently, he might

aliter, quam ipse tum credebat. Non est itaque tam validum adversus nos argumentum illud, ut eo subvertatur sententia nostra de Pauli reditu in Orientem, post soluta Romana ejus vincula. *Lud. Cappel. Hist. Apost. illustrat. p. 34. . . .* 36.

(s) *Notes upon the N. T. p. 255.*

might as well come to *Ephesus*, as to *Colosse* : which he probably did, and certainly hoped, and intended to do. See *Philem.* ver. 22.

Beside *Cappellus*, and *Wall*, already alleged, I might refer to others, who hesitate not at all to allow, that *Paul* came again into this countrey, particularly *Le Clerc*, and *Lenfant* and *Beaufobre*, upon *Acts* xx. 25. and (t) *Pearson*. Not now to mention any more.

I said just now, that, probably, *Paul* went to *Jerusalem*, as soon as he could, after he was set at liberty. And say *Lenfant* and *Beaufobre* in their (u) general preface to *St. Paul's* epistles : “ We have seen, that
 “ the Apostle was accustomed to go from
 “ time to time to *Jerusalem*, and to take the
 “ opportunity of solemn festivals. So long
 “ as the temple subsisted, the Jewish Chris-
 “ tians did not neglect the ordinances of the
 “ law. *St. Paul* himself did not neglect
 “ them, that he might give no offense to
 “ the Jews.” I readily assent to what they say about the Apostle's going to *Jerusalem*. I could almost think, that *Paul* was desirous

K 4

to

(t) *Paulus venit Miletum. &c. Ann. Paulin. p. 24. A. D. lxvi.*

(u) *P. 34.*

to go thither, to praise God in his temple for the favorable circumstances of his imprisonment at *Rome*, and for his deliverance from it. *Paul's* case at *Rome* very much resembled what had happened to him at *Corinth*. After (c) which, we find, he had a vow, and went from *Corinth* to *Ephesus*, and hastened to *Jerusalem*. Acts xviii. 9. . . 22. In like manner, I imagine, that now *Paul* went to *Jerusalem*, as soon as he could. But he made no long stay there. It had not been his custom so to do, since his conversion.

Having been at *Jerusalem*, I suppose, as before said, that he visited divers churches, which had been planted by him, and then returned to *Rome*. *St. Paul*, though a prisoner, had lived very comfortably at *Rome*. And he had there ~~had~~ great success in his services for the gospel. It seems to me, that he now considered that city, as the most proper place for him to reside in the remaining part of his life. It was the most conspicuous place in all the world, and the place of the greatest resort from all parts.

There

(c) A particular account of that journey from *Corinth* to *Jerusalem* may be seen in the first Part of this work. B. i. ch. 9. §. vii.

There he hoped to be more useful, than in any other place.

But things do not always fall out exactly according to human expectations. For, as I suppose, the Apostle had not been long returned to *Rome*, before he was called out to resign his life for the name of Christ.

In the year of Christ 64. as we learn from (x) *Suetonius*, and (y) *Tacitus*, Heathen historians, as well as from others, was a dreadful fire at Rome, which continued six or seven days. It was thought by many people, that the city had been set on fire by the Emperour's orders. But soon after the Christians were most cruelly treated by him, as if they had been the authors of the conflagra-

(x) Nam quasi offensus deformitate veterum aedificiorum, et angustiis flexurisque vicorum, incendit urbem. . . Per sex dies septemque noctes eâ clade faevitum est. . . Hoc incendium e turri Maecenatiana prospectans, laetusque flammae, ut aiebat, pulcritudine, *ἄλωση* Illi in illo suo scenico habitu decantavit. *Sueton. Neron. cap. 38.*

(y) Sed non ope humana, non largitionibus Principis, aut Deum placamentis, decedebat infamia, quin jussu incendium crederetur. Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos, et quaesitissimis poenis affecit, quos per flagitia invisos, vulgus Christianos appellabat. . . . Igitur primo correpti qui fitebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens, haud perinde in crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis convicti, &c. *Tacit. Ann. 15. cap. 44.*

flagration: So says *Tacitus*. The fire is said to have begun on (z) the 19. of July. And the persecution of the Christians began, as is supposed by some, in (a) November following, by others (b) in August. Which to me seems not so likely.

It is the opinion of (c) *Pagi*, and (d) *Basnage*, that *Peter* and *Paul* suffered martyrdom in the year of †† Christ 65. They argue in this manner. *Orosius* (e) having given

(z) Fuere qui annotarent, xiv. Calendas Sextiles principium incendii hujus ortum, quo et Senones captam urbem inflammaverant. *Tacit. Annal.* 15. cap. 41.

(a) . . . cujus initium in medium mensem Novembrem A. 64. cadit. *Mosheim. de Reb. Christian. sec. i. cap. 34.*

(b) *Vid. Toinard. ad lib. de Mort. Persecut. cap. ii.*

(c) *Vid. Pagi ann. 64, 65, 67.*

(d) Inchoatam superiore anno persecutionem currente continuavit Neronis furor, qui Petri Paulique sanguine respersus est. *Basn. an. 65. n. ix.*

†† That also was the opinion of *Du Pin*, not now to mention any others. Quoiqu'il en soit, il est certain, qu' étant revenu à Rome avec saint Pierre, il y eût la tête tranchée dans le temps de la persecution de Neron, et probablement la 65. année de Jesus Christ, comme nous l'avons fait voir en un autre endroit. *Du Pin. Diff. Prel. l. 2. ch. 2. §. viii.*

(e) Nam primus Romae Christianos suppliciis et mortibus adfecit, ac per omnes provincias pari persecutione excruciarı imperavit: ipsumque nomen extirpare conatus, beatissimos Apostolos, Petrum cruce, Paulum gladio occidit. Mox acervatim miseram civitatem abortae undique clades. Nam subsequente

given an account of *Nero's* persecution of the Christians, and of the death of the two Apostles in it, adds, that it was followed by a pestilence in the city, and other disasters. And *Tacitus* (f) speaking of affairs, when *Nerva* and *Vestinus* were Consuls, which was the year of Christ 65. mentions a pestilence in the city, violent storms in some parts of *Italie*, and other calamities. So *Pagi*. And *Basnage* (g) argues in the like manner from that passage of *Orosius*.

The last mentioned learned chronologer likewise observes, that (h) *Sulpicius Severus* having

sequente autumnno tanta urbi pestilentia incubuit, ut triginta millia funerum in rationem Libitinae venirent. *Oros. l. 7. c. 7.*

(f) Tacitus lib. 16. cap. 13. loquens de iis quae *Nerva* et *Vestino* Coss. gesta, sic narrationem suam concludit: Tot facinoribus foedum annum etiam Dii tempestatibus, et morbis, insignivere. Vastata Campania turbine ventorum, qui villas, arbuta, fruges passim disjecit, pertulitque violentiam ad vicina urbi. In qua omne mortalium genus vis pestilentiae depopulabatur, nullâ coeli intemperie, quae occurreret oculis. Petrus itaque et Paulus eo anno morti traditi, quo urbem pestilentia afflixit. Quare, cum teste Tacito, anno Christi sexagesimo quinto pestis Romae grassata fuerit, Principum Apostolorum martyrium perperam a Baronio ad praesentem annum dilatum. *Pagi Ann. 67. n. iii.*

(g) Jam vero saeva haec lues in *Nervae* et *Vestini* consulationum incidit. *Basn. ann. 65. n. ix.*

(h) Interea abundante jam Christianorum multitudine, accidit,

having given an account of the fire at *Rome*, and *Nero's* persecution of the Christians, and of the martyrdoms of *Peter* and *Paul* therein, adds: "Whilst these things are doing
 " at *Rome*, the Jews being uneasy under
 " the oppressions of their Governour *Gessius*
 " *Florus*, begin to rebel." Upon which *Basnage* observes: the (*i*) Jewish war began in May 66. Therefore the martyrdoms of the Apostles happened in the year before, that is, 65. To which, perhaps, might be added, that (*k*) *Suetonius*, having spoken of
 the

cidit, ut Roma incendio conflagraret, Nerone apud Antium constituto. Sed opinio omnium invidiam incendii in Principem retorquebat, credebaturque Imperator gloriam innovandae urbis quaefisse. Neque ulla re Nero efficiebat, quin ab eo jussu incendium putaretur. Igitur vertit invidiam in Christianos, actaeque in innoxios crudelissimae quaestiones. . . . Hoc initio in Christianos saeviri coeptum. Post etiam datis legibus, religio vetabatur: palamque edictis propositis, Christianum esse non licebat. Tum Paulus ac Petrus capitis damnati: quorum uni cervix gladio defecta, Petrus in crucem sublatus est. *Sulp. Sev. l. 2. c. 41.*

Dum haec Romae geruntur, Judaei, praefidis sui Gessii Flori injurias non ferentes, rebellare coeperunt. *ib. cap. 42.*

(*i*) Bellum autem Judaicum incoepit anni sequentis mense Maio. Proindeque Apostolorum martyrium in praesens tempus conferendum. *Basn. an. 65: n. ix.*

(*k*) Accesserunt tantis ex Principe malis, probrisque quaedam et fortuita: pestilentia unius autumnus, quo triginta funerum millia in rationem Libitinae venerant: Clades Britannica, . . . aegreque Syria retenta. *Sueton. Neron. cap. 39.*

the fire, the pestilence, and those calamities, which are mentioned by *Tacitus*, and *Orosius*, takes notice, that at the same time *Syria* was difficultly kept from breaking out into a rebellion: intending, probably, the uneasiness of the Jewish people in 65. and 66.

Basnage observes also, that (1) *Epiphanius* placeth the death of *Peter* and *Paul* in the 12. year of *Nero*: part (m) of which, as he says, fell in the year 65.

I am the more inclined to this date, because we do not find in the epistles of the New Testament any notice taken of the persecution of the Christians at *Rome*, or of the devastations in *Judea*, after the commencement of the war. If *Peter* and *Paul* had been in any of the provinces, and had survived the terrible persecution at *Rome* in 64. and 65. we should have had some epistle, or epistles of theirs, concerning it, to the *Romans*, or to the Christians of some other place.

I do not presume to assign positively the year of the martyrdom of these two Apostles.

I have

(1) . . . μετὰ τὴν τῆς ἁγίας πέτρης καὶ πάυλης τελευτὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει νέρωνος γενομένην. *Haer.* 27. num. vi.

(m) Pars autem anni Neroniani duodecimi ad praesentem spectat, utpote Octobris tertio et decimo incipientis. *Basn.* an. 65. n. ix.

I have mentioned the specious and probable arguments of two very eminent chronologers, in favour of the year 65. Nor do I think the Apostles survived that year. But I cannot say, whether their martyrdoms happened in the year 64. or 65. *Pagi* says, that (*n*) *Peter* and *Paul* were taken up and imprisoned in 64. and put to death in the year 65. But I know nothing of the imprisonment of the Apostles at this time. There may be in late and fabulous authors large and particular accounts of their imprisonment, just before their martyrdoms. But there is little or no notice taken of it by the most ancient writers. If *Peter* and *Paul* were come to *Rome* before the City was set on fire, and before the persecution of the Christians began, (which is not improbable,) they might be taken up, and soon put to death, before the end of the year 64.

(*n*) Praeterquam quod, cum persecutio adversus Christianos anno lxiv. decreta fuerit, ac insequenti continuata, non dubium, quin priori anno Petrus et Paulus in carcerem conjecti sint, ac posteriori necati. *Ann* 67. num. iii.

C H A P.



C H A P. XII.

St. Paul's Epistles.

- I. *The Introduction.* II. *The two Epistles to the Thessalonians.* III. *The Epistle to the Galatians.* IV. *The first Epistle to the Corinthians.* V. *The first Epistle to Timothy.* VI. *The Epistle to Titus.* VII. *The second Epistle to the Corinthians.* VIII. *The Epistle to the Romans.* IX. *The Epistle to the Ephesians.* X. *The second Epistle to Timothy.* XI. *The Epistle to the Philippians.* XII. *The Epistle to the Colossians.* XIII. *The Epistle to Philemon.* XIV. *The Epistle to the Hebrews.*

§. I. *The Introduction.*


 SHALL now endeavor to settle the time of St. Paul's Epistles, of which Origen said: "If (a) any man reads them with attention, I am persuaded,

(a) See Vol. iii. p. 247.

suaded, he will admire the writer's abilities in expressing great things in vulgar language: or, if he does not admire them, himself will appear ridiculous."

It cannot but afford satisfaction, to know the order of time, in which they were writ. It will not only be attended with pleasure, but will also contribute to the right understanding of them. For wrong dates have been the occasion of many mistakes. *Baronius* observes, that some have imagined the shipwreck at *Melita*, related in Acts xxvii. to be one of the three, mentioned by St. *Paul* 2 Cor. xi. 25. not considering, that the second epistle to the *Corinthians* had been writ several years before. I have put the passage (*b*) in the margin, as quoted by
Lewis

(*b*) Quantum juvet, quamque sit utile, certo tenere tempus, quo Pauli epistolae ab eo fuerunt scriptae, recte observavit Baronius ad A. C. 58. §. xlii. Sed hic, inquit ille, et illud necessario monendum putamus lectorem, nonnullis accidisse, ut temporum ignoracione in maximos errores incidant, putantes nimirum naufragium apud Melitam passum, quod Lucas narrat Act. xxvii. unum e tribus fuisse a Paulo enumeratis 2 Cor. xi. non animadvertentes, secundam istam epistolam ad Corinthios longe ante illud naufragium esse scriptam. Quamobrem scrupulosa, quae videtur, in historia temporum indagatio quantum conferat ad veram atque germanam Divinae Scripturae interpretationem, quisque facile judicabit.
... Haec

Lewis Cappell. The Author of the Commentarie upon thirteen of St. *Paul's* epistles, in the fourth centurie, made (*c*) the same mistake, and several others of a like kind, in explaining the paragraph of 2 Cor. xi. 25. 26.

Of St. *Paul's* fourteen epistles thirteen have been generally received by catholic Christians in all times. I therefore need not now allege the testimonies of ancient Christian writers, which may be seen in the preceding volumes of this work. But as the epistle to the *Hebrews* has been sometimes doubted of, I shall observe the evidences of it's genuinenesse. With regard to the others,

... Haec rectissime Baronius. Itaque hac in parte operam nostram ejusmodi indagatione post alios collocavimus. *Lud. Capp. Append. ad Hist. Apost. p. 63.*

(*c*) *Nocte et die in profundo maris fui.*] Hoc factum est, quando missus est Romam, cum appellasset Caesarem. Tunc desperatione vitae in alto, id est, in profundo maris fuit, mortem ante oculos habens. . . *Periculis in mari.* Jam superius dixit : *Ter naufragium feci, nocte et die in profundo maris fui.* Quod aliud periculum fuit in mari. Sed hoc est periculum, quando in mari, hoc est, in navi, milites cogitaverant, omnes custodias occidere, ne quis enatans effugeret. Quod periculum centurio prohibuit inferri, ne Paulus occideretur, ut eum vivum Romam produceret. *In 2 ep. ad Cor. xi. 25. 26. p. 202. ap. Ambros. in App. Tom. 2.*

I shall do little more than shew the time, when they were writ. And I would take it for granted, that they who are disposed to examine the arguments in this chapter, have first read the historie of St. *Paul*, in the preceding chapter. Which will be of great use, and prevent the trouble of numerous references.

§. II. *The two Epistles to the Thessalonians.*

A. D.
52.

THE first and second epistles to the *Thessalonians* are now generally allowed by learned interpreters and chronologers to be the two first writ epistles of St. *Paul*. The time and place of writing them may be deduced from the epistles themselves, and from the historie of St. *Paul's* travels in the book of the Acts. Some have thought, that (*d*) the first at least, if not also the second, was writ at *Athens*. But I suppose it to be now generally allowed, that (*e*) both these epistles were writ at *Corinth*. Whereby we are also assured of their time. For it was formerly

(*d*) Ante Pauli vincula omnium prima scripta est ad Thessalonicenses utraque. Scriptae autem omnino videntur duae istae epistolae Athenis. *Lud. Capp. Hist. Ap. p. 63.*

(*e*) *Pearson. Ann. Paulin. p. 11. . . 13. Mill. Proleg. num. 4. et 6.*

formerly shewn to be probable, that (f) St. Paul came to *Corinth* before the end of the year 51. and staid there till the beginning of the year 53.

In the Synopsis ascribed to *Athanasius* the (g) first epistle to the *Thessalonians* is said to have been writ at *Athens*, and (h) the second, very absurdly, at *Rome*.

Theodoret, as (i) before quoted, saw these to be the two first written epistles of the Apostle. The (k) first he supposed to have been writ at *Athens*, and the second not long after, either at *Athens*, or *Corinth*. For he does not seem to say distinctly, at which of these two cities the second was writ. Nevertheless I suppose it may be shewn, that they were both writ at *Corinth*. St. Paul came from *Thessalonica* to *Berea*. Which place he left in haste, because of the violence of the Jews, who came thither from *Thessalonica*, and stirred up the people. Acts xvii. 10. . . 13. And then, immediatly, says St. Luke, the brethren sent away Paul, to go as it were

L 2

to

(f) See before p. 97. 98.

(g) Synops. S. S. n. 66. ap. *Athan. T.* 2. p. 196.

(h) Num. 67. ib p. 197.

(i) Vol. xi. p. 85.

(k) Praef. in Ep. Pauli. T. 3. p. 3.

to the sea. But Silas and Timothie abode there still. And they that conducted Paul, brought him unto Athens. And receiving a commandment unto Silas and Timothie to come to him with all speed, they departed. ver. 14. 15. Accordingly, as we may suppose, Silas and Timothie did soon come to him. And Paul, having great concern for the Thessalonians, whilst he was at Athens, sent Timothie to them. As he says. 1 Theff. iii. 1. 2. Wherefore, when we could no longer forbear, we thought it good to be left at Athens alone. And sent Timothie, our brother and minister of God, and our fellow-laborer in the gospel of Christ, to establish you, and comfort you, concerning your faith. From Athens Paul went to Corinth, where he staid a year and six months. There Timothie came back to him from Thessalonica. Comp. Acts xviii. 5. and 1 Theff. iii. 6. And Silas, or Silvanus, and Timothie are joyned with the Apostle in the inscription of the epistle.

Near the end of this epistle, ch. v. 27. are these remarkable words: *I charge, or adjure, you by the Lord, ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν κύριον, that this epistle be read unto all the holy brethren.* It is likely, that from the begining all Christian assemblies had readings of the scriptures

ſcriptures of the Old Teſtament. *Paul*, knowing the plenitude of the apoſtolic commiſſion, now demands the ſame reſpect to be paid to his writings, with thoſe of the ancient Prophets. This is a direction, fit to be inſerted in the firſt epiſtle writ by him. And the manner, in which it is given, ſuggeſts an argument, that this was his firſt apoſtolic epiſtle.

The ſecond epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians* appears to have been writ ſoon after the firſt, and at the ſame place. And *Silvanus* and *Timothie* are joyned together with the Apoſtle in the inſcription of this epiſtle, as well as of the former.

Theſe two epiſtles therefore I ſuppoſe to have been writ at *Corinth*, in the year of Chriſt 52. Which is alſo the opinion of (1) *Mill*, and others. But by whom theſe epiſtles were carried to the *Theſſalonians*, we do not perceive.

Some objections have been made againſt the above mentioned date of theſe two epiſtles. But the point is ſo clear, that I do not think it worth the while to prolong this argument in examining them. They who are curious, may ſee thoſe objections well anſwered

L 3

wered

(1) *Prolegom. num. 4. . . . 7.*

wered by Dr. Benson, in the second edition of (*) his History of the first planting the Christian Religion.

§. III. *The Epistle to the Galatians.*

A. D.
53.

THE epistle to the *Galatians* is inscribed after this manner: *Paul, an Apostle, . . . and all the brethren which are with me, unto the churches of Galatia.* Upon which Jerome observes: "In (*m*) other epistles "*Sothenes* and *Silvanus*, and sometimes also "*Timothie*, are mentioned at the beginning: "but in this, for adding the greater weight "and authority, are put *all the brethren*: "who, perhaps too, were believers of the "circum-

(*) *Vol. 2. p. 119. . . . 122.*

(*m*) In aliis epistolis Sothenes et Silvanus, interdum et Timotheus, in exordio praeponuntur: in hac tantum, quia necessaria erat auctoritas plurimorum, omnium fratrum nomen assumitur. Qui et ipsi forsitan ex circumcissione erant, et a Galatis non contemptui ducebantur. Plurimum quippe facit ad populum corrigendum multorum in una re sententia atque consensus. Quod autem ait, *Ecclesiis Galatiae*, et hoc notandum, quia hic tantum generaliter non ad unam ecclesiam unius urbis, sed ad totius provinciae scribat ecclesias: et *ecclesias* vocet, quas postea errore arguat depravatas. Ex quo noscendum, dupliciter ecclesiam posse dici: et eam, quae non habet maculam aut rugam, et vere corpus Christi sit: et eam, quae in Christi nomine absque plenis perfectisque virtutibus congregetur. *In ep. ad Gal. cap. i. T. 4. p. 225.*

“circumcision, and not despised by the *Galatians*. And the consent of many is of great use to satisfy people. *To the churches of Galatia*. Here also, as he proceeds, it is to be observed, that in this place only *Paul* writes in general, not to the church of one city only, but to the churches of a whole province : and that he calls them *churches*, whom afterwards he reproves, as corrupted with error. Whence we learn, that a church may be understood in a twofold manner : both of that which has no spot, or wrinkle, and is indeed the body of Christ : and of that, which is assembled in the name of Christ, without compleat and perfect virtues.”

Tertullian (n) seems to have thought this one of *St. Paul's* first written epistles : as

L 4

has

(n) . . . ab illo certe Paulo, qui adhuc in gratia rudis, trepidans denique, ne in vacuum cucurrisset, aut curreret, tunc primum cum antecessoribus Apostolis conferebat. Igitur, si ferventer, ut adhuc neophytus, adversus Judaismum aliquid in conversatione reprehendendum existimavit, passivum scilicet convictum, postmodum et ipse usu omnibus omnia futurus, ut omnes lucraretur, Judaeis quasi Judaeus, et eis qui sub lege, tanquam sub lege : tu illam solius conversationis, placiturae postea accusatori suo, reprehensionem, suspectam vis haberi, etiam de praedicationes erga Deum praevagatione. *Tertull. adv. Marc. l. i. cap. 20. p. 443.*

has been observed by *Grotius*, (*o*) who transcribed the passage, though long, into his preface to the epistle to the *Galatians*. *Fabrizius* (*p*) likewise has taken notice of it.

Theodoret (*q*) the (*r*) Synopsis of Sacred Scripture, ascribed to *Athanasius*, and (*s*) the Author of the Argument in *Oecumenius*, reckon this among the epistles writ at *Rome*, and consequently a late epistle. But I see no ground for that opinion, there not being in the epistle any notice taken of an imprisonment at the time of writing it.

However *Lightfoot* (*t*) was also of the same opinion. He supposeth this to have been the first epistle writ by *St. Paul*, after his arrival at *Rome*. He says, it was carried by *Crescens*, arguing from 2 Tim. iv. 10.

Which

(*o*) Tertullianus in primo adversus Marcionem, hanc epistolam inter primas Pauli fuisse existimat. &c. *Grot. Pr. in ep. ad Gal.*

(*p*) Scripsisse hanc epistolam adhuc neophitum, et in gratia rudem, adeoque inter primas non dubitat affirmare Tertullianus. . . . *Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. v. Tom. 3. p. 155.*

(*q*) Τὰς μὲν δὴ ἄλλας ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπέστειλε, καὶ ταύτην μὲν ἡγεῖμαι τὴν πρὸς γαλάτας γραφῆναι. *Theod. Praef. in ep. Paul. T. 3. p. 5. B.*

(*r*) *Ap. Athan. T. 2. p. 194.*

(*s*) *Arg. ep. ad Gal. ap. Oecum. T. i. p. 713.*

(*t*) *Vol. i. p. 323.*

Which epistle to *Timothie* he thinks was writ at *Rome* soon afterwards.

Chrysostom (u) says, this (x) epistle was writ before that to the *Romans*. And in like manner (y) *Theophylact*, probably, borrowing from him.

Divers learned moderns have thought, that this epistle was writ at *Ephesus*, after *Paul's* arrival there from his journey, related in *Acts* xviii. 23. and xix. 1. consequently, after that the Apostle had been a second time in *Galatia*. To this purpose (z) *Lewis Cappell*, (a) *Witsius*, and (b) *Wall*. This likewise

(u) See of this work, Vol. x. p. 332.

(x) Δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ ἡ πρὸς γαλάτας προτέρα εἶναι τῆς πρὸς ῥωμαίους. *Chrys. Proæm. ep. ad Rom. T. 9. p. 427. D.*

(y) Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ πρὸς γαλάτας προτέρα ἐστὶ ταύτης πρὸς ῥωμαίους. *Theoph. Arg. ep. ad Rom.*

(z) Per idem tempus, nempe sub finem biennii Ephesini videtur omnino scripta epistola ad Galatas. &c. *Capp. Hist. ap. p. 69.*

(a) Epistola ad Galatas temporis sui hos characteres habet. Primum, quod non diu post Pauli ab iis discessum scripta esse videatur. Sic enim ipse cap. i. 6. . . . Affuerat autem iis Paulus paullo antequam proficisceretur Ephesum. *Act. xviii. 23. coll. cum cap. xix. 1.* Unde probabiliter saltem infertur Ephesi esse datam. Specialius, datam esse sub finem biennii, quod Paulus Ephesi exegit, inde colligit Cappellus. . . . *Wits. de Vit. Paul. scæ. viii. num. xxxii.*

(b) "About this time, A. D. 55. when *Paul* had been at *Ephesus* a little while, he is supposed to have writ his epistle to the *Galatians*." *Wall's Notes upon the N. T. p. 164.*

likewise seems to have been the opinion of (c) *Pearson*. For he placeth this epistle in the year 57. after the first to the *Corinthians*, and before *Paul* left *Ephesus*. But I do not discern his reasons for so doing.

Grotius (d) thought it difficult to assign the time, when this epistle was writ : but conjectures, that it was writ about the same time with that to the *Romans*.

Fabricius says, “ the (e) design of the “ epistle is to dissuade the *Galatians* from “ putting their neck under the yoke of the “ Mosaic law. And, says he, to the like “ purpose the Apostle writes to the *Romans*. “ But

(c) Scribit primam ad Corinthios epistolam. . . . Scribit epistolam ad Galatas. Per Demetrium Epheso pellitur. *Anal. Paulin. p. 15. A. D. 57.*

(d) Tempus, quo scripta est haec epistola ad Gallograecos epistola, sicut designate indicare non possum, ita videre mihi videor, non longe abfuisse ab eo tempore, quo ad Romanos scripta est epistola. *Gr. Pr. in ep. ad Galat.*

(e) Argumentum epistolae est, Galatas dehortari, ne iugo Legis Mosaicæ iterum collum animasque supponerent. Idem dissuaserat Romanis, sed ad illos, quos nondum preasens ille docuerat, et scribit minus familiariter, et prolixius iis capita Christianae fidei exponit. Ad Galatas vero, et brevius omnia, et tanquam doctor ipsorum, ita ut nec a gravi increpatione sibi temperet. . . . Non possum tamen improbare eorum sententiam, qui non diu post epistolam ad Romanos in itinere Hierosolymam versus A. C. 58. exaratam hanc epistolam arbitrantur. *Fabr. ubi supra. p. 155.*

“ But them he had never seen, and he treats
 “ them very respectfully, and enlargeth up-
 “ on the doctrine of the gospel with greater
 “ prolixity. To the *Galatians* he writes
 “ more briefly, and as their master, and not
 “ without some severity in his reprehensi-
 “ ons. He adds, that he is inclined to their
 “ opinion, who suppose this epistle to have
 “ been writ not long after that to the *Ro-*
 “ *mans*, and in the way to *Jerusalem*, in the
 “ year of Christ 58.”

Mill being a man of great judgement in
 these things, and what he says appearing at
 first sight plausible, I shall transcribe it be-
 low. He thinks, that (*f*) this epistle was
 not

(*f*) Paulo post dictatam hanc, quae Romanis scripta est,
 scripsit Paulus epistolam ad Galatas, ut apparet ex cap. ii. 10.
 ὁ καὶ ἐσπέδασα αὐτὸ τέτοιο ποιῆσαι. His enim verbis aperte in-
 dicat Apostolus, epistolam hanc post ministerium, seu stu-
 dium, quod eleemosynis pro ecclesia Hierosolymitana colli-
 gendis impendebat, scripsisse se, dum aoristo utitur, ἐσπέδα-
 σα ποιῆσαι. In itinere itaque versus Hierosolymam versatus
 D. Paulus alicubi hanc epistolam exarasse videtur, et quidem
 Troade fortassis, ubi septem dies moratus est: postquam in
 Asiam veniens comperisset Galatas ad aliud evangelium ἑτε-
 ραχέως translatos fuisse. Auditā nempe, jam ut videtur ab
 appulsu ejus in Asiam, istā ἀποστασία, arrepto calamo, pro-
 pria manu, contra quam factum in aliis epistolis, (excepta
 forte unā ad Philemonem) totam istam scripsit epistolam,
 acrem et objurgatoriam, nomine suo, omniumque, qui cum
 ipso

not writ, untill after that to the *Romans*, probably, at *Troas*, or some other place in *Asia*, as *Paul* was going to *Jerusalem*. And he thinks, that *Paul* refers to the collections lately made in *Macedonia* and *Greece*. Gal. ii. 10. And the Apostle writes not only in his own name, but also in the name of all the brethren, mentioned Acts xx. 4. who were with him at *Troas*, and accompanied him to *Jerusalem*. Moreover, this epistle was writ by the Apostle with his own hand, and the more easily, and readily, though in a journey, because he had just before treated the same argument in his epistle to the *Romans*. This epistle therefore is placed by *Mill* at the year 58.

Upon all which I beg leave to remark, as follows. *First*, that those words, *all the brethren which are with me*, need not to be understood of those who were with *Paul* at *Troas*, and were setting out with him for *Jerusalem*. Thereby may be intended the brethren

ipso erant fratrum jam Troade, Sopatri, Aristarchi, Secundi, Gaii, Tyehici, Trophimi, Titi, Silae, aliorum. Scripsit autem eo celerius, et festinantius, quod idem argumentum in hac epistola prosequeretur, quod tractaverat paullo ante in epistola ad Romanos, cujus fere sensus in hanc transfundit. . . . Scripta est statim, ut dixi, post epistolam ad Romanos, anno aerae vulgaris lviii. *Proleg. num.* 30. 31.

brethren of some other place, where *Paul* was. *Secondly*, the Apostle *Paul* was able at any time to represent the doctrine of the gospel to any churches, suitably to their particular case and circumstance: whether he had just before treated of it in an epistle, or not. So that the agreement between the epistles to the *Romans* and the *Galatians* is no proof, that they were writ very soon one after another. *Thirdly*, when *Paul* says, ch. ii. 10. *the same which I also was forward to do*: he cannot intend the collections made in *Macedonia* and *Greece*, with which he was going to *Jerusalem*. If that had been his meaning, he would have expressed himself more particularly, like to what he says to the *Romans*. ch. xv. 25. . . . 27. What he says here, he might have said, when at *Ephesus*, before he set out for *Macedonia*, and indeed at any time, and in any place. For he had been always mindfull of the poor in *Judea*. I apprehend, that the Apostle's words are to be interpreted in this manner. *The same, which I also had endeavored to do, or had been careful to perform*: referring to his conduct, even before that proposal of the three Apostles at *Jerusalem*: and intending, probably, in

in particular, the contributions brought by himself and *Barnabas* from *Antioch* to *Jerusalem*, some while before, as related Acts xi. 27. Which contributions, as may be well supposed, had been promoted by our Apostle's exhortations. *Fourthly*, St. Paul says to the *Galatians* in this epistle. ch. i. 6. *I marvel, that ye are so soon removed from him that called you unto the grace of Christ, unto another gospel.* Those expressions cannot possibly suit the date assigned by *Mill*, that is, after the Passover of the year 58. Which must have been above four years after even *Paul's* second journey in the countrey of *Galatia*.

Another opinion has been proposed by the ingenious and thoughtful Author (g) of *Miscellanea Sacra*, and embraced by (h) Dr. *Benson*: that the epistle to the *Galatians* was writ at *Corinth*, when the Apostle was first there, and made a long stay of a year and six months. Whilst *Paul* was there, he received tidings of the instability of his converts in

(g) See there the *Abstract of the Scripture History of the Apostles*. p. 31. and the *Postscript to the Preface* p. 56. . . 58.

(h) *History of the first Planting the Chr. Religion*. B. 3. ch. v. §. xi. Vol. 2. p. 118. 119. first ed. p. 136. 137. 2d. ed.

in *Galatia*, with which he was much affected. Whereupon he wrote this epistle, and sent it by one of his assistants. At that season he might well say at the beginning of his addresse to them: *I marvel, that ye are so soon removed from him that called you unto the grace of Christ*. Nor is there in the epistle any hint of his having been with them more than once. The epistle therefore was writ at *Corinth*, or perhaps, at *Ephesus*: when *Paul* was first there, in his way to *Jerusalem*, as mentioned Acts xviii. 19. . . 21.

This opinion is proposed by the above mentioned Author, as his own. And I make no doubt, that it was so, and the fruit of his own inquiries and observations. Nevertheless it is not quite new. Say *Lenfant* and *Beausobre* in their general preface to *St. Paul's Epistles*: "We (i) find not in the
"epistle to the *Galatians* any mark, that
"can enable us to determine with certainty,
"at what time, or in what place, it was
"writ. It is dated at *Rome* in some printed
"copies, and manuscripts. But there is no-
"thing in the epistle itself, to confirm that
"date. *Paul* does not here make any
"mention

(i) §. xlii. p. 24. . . 26.

" mention of his bonds, as he does in all
 " his epistles, writ at *Rome*. He says in-
 " deed vi. 17. that *he bears in his body the*
 " *marks of the Lord Jesus*. But he had
 " often suffered, before he came to *Rome*.
 " There are therefore (*k*) some learned
 " chronologers, who place the epistle to
 " the *Galatians* immediatly after the two
 " epistles to the *Thessalonians*. They think,
 " it was writ between the third and fourth
 " journey of *Paul* to *Jerusalem*, and between
 " his first and second journey into *Galatia*.
 " This opinion appears to me very probable.
 " For since the Apostle says, *he wonders,*
 " *that they were so soon turned unto another*
 " *gospel*, this epistle must have been writ a
 " short time, after he had preached in *Ga-*
 " *latia*. Nor can we discern in the epistle
 " any notice of the second journey, which
 " *St. Paul* made into this countrey. For this
 " reason it is thought, that the epistle to the
 " *Galatians* was writ at *Corinth*, where the
 " Apostle made a long stay, or else, in some
 " city of *Asia*, particularly, *Ephesus*, where
 " he

(*k*) Here, in the margin, are put the names of *Usher* and
L. Cappell, without any references. Nor have I found the
 places, where this opinion is maintained by them.

“ he staid some days in his way to *Jerusalem*. Acts xviii. 19. . . 21. Therefore, in
“ all probability, the epistle to the *Galatians*
“ was writ from *Corinth*, or from *Ephesus*,
“ in the year 52. or 53.”

Nothing could be said more properly. And I think, this date may be farther confirmed by some other considerations. *Paul* says to the *Corinthians*. xvi. 1. Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given orders to the churches of *Galatia*, so do ye. Which shews, that at the writing of that epistle to the *Corinthians*, in 56. he had a good opinion of his converts in *Galatia*, and that he had no doubt of their respect to his directions. Which, probably, had been sent to them from *Ephesus*, during his long abode there, by some one or other of his assistants. This good temper of the *Galatians* may be supposed owing to the letter sent to them some time before, and to his second visit to them, related Acts xviii. 23.

And now we shall be better able to account from what appears very remarkable. When *Paul* left *Corinth*, after his long stay there, he went to *Jerusalem*, having a vow.

In his way he came to *Ephesus*. Acts xviii. 19... 21. *And when they desired him to tarry longer with them, he consented not. But bid them farewell, saying : I must by all means keep this feast that cometh at Jerusalem. But I will return again unto you, if God will.* When we read this, we might be apt to think, that *Paul* should hasten back to *Ephesus*, and return thither presently after he had been at *Jerusalem*. But instead of so doing, after he had been at *Jerusalem*, he went down to *Antioch*. And after he had spent some time there, he departed, and went over all the countrey of *Galatia*, and *Phrygia*, in order, strengthening the disciples. ver. 22. 23. We now seem to see the reason of this course. At *Corinth* he heard of the defection of many in *Galatia*. Whereupon he sent away a sharp letter to them. But considering the nature of the case, he judged it best to take the first opportunity to go to *Galatia*, and support the instructions of his letter. And both together had a very good effect. Gal. iv. 19. 20. *My little children, of whom I travel in birth again I desire to be present with you, and to change my voice. For I stand in doubt of you : or, I am perplexed*

plexed for you. Now, then, we see the reason of the Apostle's not coming directly from *Jerusalem* to *Ephesus*. However, he was not unmindful of his promise, and came thither, after he had been in *Galatia*.

Upon the whole, the epistle to the *Galatians* is an early epistle. And, as seems to me most probable, was writ at *Corinth*, near the end of the year 52. or at the very beginning of the year 53. before St. *Paul* set out to go to *Jerusalem* by the way of *Ephesus*. But if any should rather think, that it was writ at *Ephesus*, during the Apostle's short stay there, in the way from *Corinth* to *Jerusalem*, that will make but very little difference. And still, according to our computation, this epistle was writ at the beginning of the year 53.

Ch. vi. 11. *Ye (1) see how large a letter I have written unto you with my own hand.*

Hereby some understand the Apostle to say, that this, with what follows to the end of the epistle, was writ with his own hand.

M 2

So

(1) Ἰδετε πλῆκοις ὑμῖν γράμμασιν ἔγραψα τῇ ἑμῇ χειρὶ.

So (m) *Jerome*, and (n) *Grotius*. Others understand St. Paul to speak of the whole epistle. So thought (o) *Chrysostom*, and (p) *Theophylact*, and (q) *Theodore*, and (r) the Author of the *Commentarie* upon thirteen

(m) Hi qui circumcidi Galatas volebant, disseminaverant, alia Paulum facere, alia praedicare. . . . Hanc opinionem quia non poterat Paulus apud omnes praefens ipse subvertere . . . seipsum per literas representat. Et ne aliqua suppositae epistolae suspicio nasceretur, ab hoc ipso usque ad finem manu sua ipse perscripsit, ostendens superiora ab alio exarata. *Hieron. in ep. ad Gal. T. 4. p. 314.*

(n) In aliarum epistolarum fine quaedam scribebat suâ manu. 1 Cor. xvi. 21. 2 Thess. iii. 17. et Col. iv. 18. cetera manu aliena, ut videre est Roman. xvi. 22. Hic vero Paulus suâ manu scripsit omnia quae sequuntur, ut recte putat Hieronymus. Id autem multum erat in homine adeo occupato, et, ut videtur, non multum assueto Graece scribere. *Quantis literis*, id est, *quam multis*. Solent adjectiva magnitudinis poni pro adjectivis ad numerum pertinentibus. Sic Graecum τόσοι, tanti, utroque sensu usurpatum. *Grot. ad Galat. vi. 11.*

(o) Ἐνταῦθα ἐδὲν ἄλλο ἀνίττεται, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὸς ἔγραψε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἅπασαν, ὃ πολλῆς γνωσιότητος σημεῖον ἦν. κ. λ. *Chr. in loc. T. x. p. 727. B.*

(p) *In loc. T. 2. p. 492.*

(q) Πᾶσαν, ὡς ἔοικε, τὴν δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν αὐτὸς ἔγραψε. *Theod. in loc.*

(r) Auctoritatem dat epistolae suae. . . . Ubi enim holographa manus est, falsum dici non potest. *In loc. ap. Ambros. in App. p. 230.*

thirteen of St. Paul's Epistles. Which interpretation is approved by (s) *Wolffius*.

. . . *How long a letter I have written unto you.* Which some interpret after this manner: *in what large letters I have written unto you*, intending the deformity, or inelegance of the characters. Which sense is also found in (t) divers ancient authors.

But it is not approved of either by (u) *Beza*,

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or

(s) Idem vero, [Grotius,] quamvis praeunte Hieronymo, errat, quando haec verba non ad totam hanc epistolam, sed ad ea tantum, quae inde usque ad finem leguntur vult referri. Rectius Chrysostomus. . . Addit idem causam, cur totam epistolam sua manu exararit, ut nempe omnis νοθείας suspicio ἰδιογράφῳ hoc praecideretur iis, qui dicere alioquin poterant, nonnulla illi inserta, quae Apostoli sententiae non responderent. *Wolff. in loc.*

(t) Τὸ δὲ πηλίκῳ, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ ἢ τὸ μέγεθος, ἀλλὰ τὴν αἰμορφίαν τῶν γραμμάτων ἐμφαίνων λέγειν, μονοουχὶ λέγων ὅτι οὔτε ἄριστα γράφειν ἐδῶκε, ὅμως ἠναγκάσθη δι' ἑμαυτὲ γράφαι, ὥστε τῶν συκοφαντῶν ἐμφράξαι τὸ σῶμα. *Chr. ubi supr. p. 727 C.*

Τὸ δὲ πηλίκῳ γράμμασι, τίνες, μὲν μεγάλοις, τίνες δὲ φάυλοις ἠρμήνευσαν. Εγὼ γὰρ φησιν, ἔγραψα τὴν ἐπιστολήν, καί τοι μὴ γράφων εἰς κάλλος. *Theod. in loc.*

(u) *Quam longis, πηλίκῳ.* Ad verbum *quantis*. Vulgata *qualibus*. In quo explicando miror cur se tantopere torqueant interpretes, dum alii — ad sublimitatem sententiarum referunt, ut Hilarius, alii ad ipsa literarum elementa, quae grandiuscula fuerint, . . . alii ad deformitatem characterum, quasi Paulus imperitus fuerit pingendarum literarum, ut exponit Theophylactus, Chrysostomum secutus: . . . Sunt au-

tem

or (x) *Wolffius*. They say, that this is as long as any of St. Paul's epistles, excepting the epistle to the *Romans*, the two epistles to the *Corinthians*, and that to the *Hebrews*. I may add another thought : that according to our computation this is the third apostolical epistle, writ by St. Paul, and is much longer than either of those to the *Thessalonians*, which had been writ before. However, undoubtedly, the Apostle has regard to the quantity of his own hand-writing. The rest of his epistles were writ by others, while he dictated, (as is generally done by eminent men, much engaged,) and himself wrote only a few words, or sentences, at the end :

tem sane longiores epistolae Romanis et Corinthiis inscriptae, sed aliena manu exaratae. &c. *Bez. ad loc.*

(x) *Ecce quantis, i. e. quam multis literis vobis scripsi.* Ita recte Grotius, addens, adjectiva magnitudinis pro adjectivis, ad numerum pertinentibus, poni solere, quemadmodum et Graecum τόσους utroque sensu usurpetur. . . . Longius autem a vero aberrant, qui τὸ πηλίκος ad designandam characterum, quibus usus sit, magnitudinem, spectare putant, ut πηλικά γράμματα sint literae majusculae. . . . Addit, [Le Cene] Apostolum hanc epistolam non potuisse appellare πηλίκην respectu longitudinis, cum longiores scripserit alias. Imo vero scriptionem non tam multorum verborum, quam quod eam totam suâ manu scripserat, qui alias ceteris pauca quaedam subscribere consueverit, longam appellat. Praeterea haec ad Galatas, si tres priores, et unam ad Hebraeos exceperis, reliquas omnes longitudine excedit. *Wolf. in loc.*

end : whereas this epistle was all in his own hand-writing.

And the original word is elsewhere used for epistle, or letter. Acts xxviii. 21. *We (y) have not received letters out of Judea concerning thee.*

So far therefore as I am able to judge, our English version is very right. *Ye see how large a letter I have writ unto you with my own hand.*

That is (z) Beza's translation. *Le Clerc (a)* in his French Testament, and (b) *Beaufobre* translate in the like manner.

In *Beaufobre's* Remarks upon the New Testament, published after his death, is this note upon the text, we are considering :

“ *How (c) large a letter, πηλίκους γράμμασι.*

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“ *Some,*

(y) Ημεῖς ἔτε γράμματα περὶ σοῦ ἐδεξάμεθα ἀπὸ τῆς ἰουδαίας.

(z) Videtis quam longis literis vobis scripserim mea manu. *Bez.*

(a) Voyez quelle grande lettre je vous ai écrite de ma main. *Le Clerc.*

(b) Voyez quelle grande lettre je vous ai écrite de ma propre main. *B.*

(c) *Quelle grande lettre.* Quelques uns, dit Theodoret, expliquoient ce mot de la grandeur des lettres, et d'autres de ce que la lettre étoit mal écrite, les caracteres mauvais : *Je vous ai écrit de ma main, quoique s'écrive mal.* St. Jerome, dans

“ Some, says *Theodoret*, explain this of the
 “ largeness of the letters, others, that the
 “ letter was ill writ : as if the Apostle had
 “ said : *I have writ to you with my own hand,*
 “ *though I do not write well.* St. *Jerome*, in
 “ his *Commentarie* upon this place, says, he
 “ had heard somewhat of the like kind from
 “ some body. But he does not seem to ap-
 “ prove of it.” I transcribe at length (*d*)
 below the passage, referred to. But *Jerome*,
 having

dans son *Commentaire* sur cet endroit, dit d'avoir ouï dire
 quelque chose d'approchant, à quelqu'un dont il ne paroît
 pas approuver la pensée. *Beauf. Remarques sur le N. T. p.*
466.

(*d*) *Videte qualibus literis scripsi vobis* : Non quod gran-
 des literae fuerint, [hoc quippe in Graeco sonat *ωνδ'ινοις* :]
 sed quod suae manus essent eis nota vestigia : ut dum litera-
 rum apices recognoscunt, ipsum se putarent videre, qui scrip-
 serat. In hoc loco vir apprime nostris temporibus eruditus,
 miror quomodo rem ridiculam loquutus sit. *Paulus*, inquit,
Hebraeus erat, et Graecas literas nesciebat. Et quia necessitas
expetebat, ut manu sua epistolam subscriberet, contra consuetudi-
nem curvos tramites literarum exprimebat : etiam in hoc suae ad
Galatas indicia caritatis ostendens, quod propter illos id quoque quod
nos poterat, facere conaretur. Grandibus ergo *Paulus* literis
 scripsit epistolam, quia sensus erat grandis in literis. . . . Gran-
 des *Paulus* literas non solum tunc ad *Galatas*, sed etiam hodie
 scribit ad cunctos : et quamvis parvi sint apices, quibus ejus
 epistolae conscribuntur, tamen magnae sunt literae, quia
 in literis magnus est sensus. *Hieron. Comm. in Gal. T. 4.*
p. 315.

having mentioned that observation of some learned man of his time, does himself seem to trifle, when he adds, "That St. Paul's letter to the *Galatians* was great for the sense. And so were all his letters, though short." However, this interpretation may be approved by some. It is in the note of *Beza*, above (*) transcribed.

§. IV. *The first Epistle to the Corinthians.*

THE first epistle to the *Corinthians* was writ at *Ephesus*, as all may perceive. Says the Apostle 1 Cor. xvi. 8. 9. *But I will tarry at Ephesus, untill Pentecost. For a great door and effectual is opened unto me. And there are many adversaries.* And ver. 19. he says: *The churches of Asia salute you. Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord.* Those two good Christians had come with *Paul* from *Corinth* to *Ephesus*, when he was first there, and staid but a short time. As appears from *Acts* xviii. 18. 19. And there they continued, as we suppose, till after *Paul* left *Ephesus*, to go into *Macedonia*.

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This

(*) See note (u) p. 167.

This epistle is placed by (e) *Pearson* in the year 57. *Mill* thinks (f) it was writ before the Passover of the year 57.

According to our computation (g) of St. Paul's times and travels, this epistle was writ at *Ephesus*, in the spring of the year 56. Which (b) was also the opinion of the French Commentators before named, *Lenfant* and *Beaufobre*. Some have argued from ch. v. 7. *For Christ our Passover, is sacrificed for us*, that it was now the time of the Jewish Passover, or that it was just over. But to me it seems, that the Apostle might make use of that expression, and build an argument, or exhortation, upon it in any part of the year. And when a year was begun, he might speak of staying where he was, till some distant feast. And supposing the epistle to have been writ early in the spring, he

(e) Scribit primam ad Corinthios epistolam, cum Sosthene respondens epistolae Corinthiorum. *Pearson. Ann. Paulin. p. 15. Anno lvii.*

(f) Quando igitur? Haud diu sane antequam ex Asia abiret, anno aerae vulgaris. lvii. et quidem ante illius anni festum paschale. *Proleg. num. 9.*

(g) See here p. 105.

(b) La i. Epistre aux Corinthiens fut écrite d'Ephese au printemps de l'année 56. *Pref. Gen. sur les ep. de S. Paul. §. 45. p. 27.*

he might think of continuing at *Ephesus*, till Pentecost. This letter was carried to *Corinth* by *Stephanas*, *Fortunatus*, and *Achai-cus*, mentioned 1 Cor. xvi. 17. 18. who had come to the Apostle from the *Corinthians*, and are supposed to have brought a letter with them. See 1 Cor. vii. 1. It was after writing this epistle, that the tumult happened, which was caused by *Demetrius*. For as *Lightfoot* (i) says: "Between ver. 22. and 23. of this xix. chapter of the Acts falleth in the time of St. *Paul's* writing the first epistle to the *Corinthians*." Consequently, this epistle was sent away, before the tumult raised by *Demetrius*, and other silversmiths, related by St. *Luke* Acts xix. 23 41. nevertheless, after *Paul* had fought with beasts at *Ephesus*, as he says, 1 Cor. xv. 32. When that tumult of *Demetrius* was appeased, *Paul* seems to have been at rest. And though he did not judge it prudent to stay any longer there, he took leave of his friends with deliberation. And after the uproar was ceased, *Paul* called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into *Macedonia*. Acts xx. 1.

The

(i) Vol. i. p. 299.

The first epistle to the *Corinthians* therefore, according to our account, was writ at *Ephesus*, in the begining, or the spring, of the year 56.

§. V. *The first epistle to Timothie.*

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THE first epistle to *Timothie* was writ, according to (k) *Pearson*, (l) *Whitby*, (m) *Basnage*, (n) *Cave*, (o) *Fabricius*, (p) *Mill*, and others, in the year of Christ 64. or 65. some while after *St. Paul's* release from his confinement at *Rome*. In (q) *Lightfoot* this is the epistle writ next after the first to the *Corinthians*. It is the same in (r) *Baronius*, and (s) *Estius*. Who say,

(k) *Pearson Annal. Paulin. An. 64. p. 22.*

(l) *Wh. in his preface to the epistle.*

(m) *Ann. 62. n. vii.*

(n) *Cav. H. L. in Paulo.*

(o) *Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. v. T. 3. p. 157.*

(p) *Proleg. num. 123.*

(q) *See Harmonie of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 307.*

(r) *An. 57. num. 187.*

(s) Scripta est autem haec epistola, posteaquam Paulus, Epheso relicta, sicut habetur initio xx. cap. Actorum, profectus est in Macedoniam. Id quod ipsius epistolae verba statim initio declarant. Unde cum Cardinale Baronio colligimus, in Macedonia scriptam esse. *Est. arg. 1 ep. ad Timoth. p. 758.*

say, that this epistle was writ in *Macedonia*, when *Paul* was there the second time. In this date agree in the main (t) Dr. *Benson*, and (u) Dr. *Doddridge*. This also was the opinion of *Hammond*, as may be seen in his preface to this epistle. *Witsius*, after having considered the reasons of *Lightfoot* and *Pearson* in behalf of their several opinions, hesitates (x) and cannot say exactly, when this epistle was writ: though he does not judge it needfull to defer it so long, as *Pearson* did, that is, till after St. *Paul's* deliverance from his imprisonment at *Rome*. *Lewis Cappell* was in doubt, which was first writ, whether (y) the second epistle to the *Corinthians*,

(t) *History &c. B. 3. ch. vii. sect. v. p. 167. &c. first ed. p. 184. &c. sec. ed. See also his preface to the first ep. to Tim. sect. iii.*

(u) *See Family-Expositor. Vol. 3. p. 305. note (e). p. 319. note (b). p. 332. note (r).*

(x) Non tamen aeque constat, scriptionem epistolae differendam esse ad solutionem Pauli a Romanis vinculis. Neque enim omnia Pauli itinera descripsit Lucas, sed notabilia quaedam. . . Pronunciemus itaque, de tempore, quo scripta est prior Pauli ad Timotheum epistola, non liquere. *Wits. de Vit. Paul. sect. 9. num. v.*

(y) Posterior ad eosdem Corinthios epistola, et prior ad Timotheum, certant de proprietate, et sub judice lis est. Utraque autem scripta est paullo postquam Paulus Epheso discessisset, adeoque dum Macedoniam peragraret. Sed utra tempore praecedat, non liquet. *Lud. Capp. Hist. Ap. p. 72.*

Corinthians, or the first epistle to *Timothie*. However, he thinks, that both were writ not long after St. Paul had left *Ephesus*, to go into *Macedonia*. Consequently his opinion was not very different from that of *Lightfoot*, *Baronius*, and *Estius*, before recited.

According to *Theodoret*, in his general preface to St. Paul's epistles, the first four are the two epistles to the *Theſſalonians*, and the first and second to the *Corinthians*. "The (x) fifth, says he, is the first epistle "to *Timothie*. For after the introduction "he says: *As I besought thee to abide still at* " *Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that* " *thou mightest charge some, that they receive* " *no other doctrine.* 1 Tim. i. 3. It is mani- "fest therefore, that when Paul went the "second time into *Macedonia*, he left the "most excellent *Timothie* at *Ephesus*, to take "care of those who had received the salu- "tarie doctrine."

I shall

(x) Πέμπτην ἡγῆμαι τῶν πρὸς τιμόθεον τὴν προτέραν. Μετὰ γὰρ δὲ τὸ προόμιον ἔτω φησί· Καθὼς παρεκάλεσά σε προσμεῖναι ἐν ἐφέσῳ, πορευόμενος εἰς μακεδονίαν. . . . Δῆλον τοίνυν, ὡς ἦν ἡμεῖς τὸ δεύτερον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐφέσου παρεγγίνετο εἰς μακεδονίαν ὁ μακάριος παῦλος, τότε τὸν πάντα ἄριστον τιμόθεον ἐκεῖ καταλέλοιπε, εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν δεξαμένων τὸ σωτήριον κήρυγμα. Praef. in ep. Paul. T. 3. p. 3. 4.

I shall now endeavor to shew at length the grounds of this opinion.

St. *Luke* expressly says *Acts* xx. 1. *And after the uproar was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia.* And St. *Paul* says, in the place just cited, *1 Tim.* i. 3. *As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia.* And St. *Luke* informs us. *ch.* xix. 21. 22. *After these things were ended, Paul purposed in spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia to go to Jerusalem . . . So he sent into Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him, Timothie and Erastus. But he himself staid in Asia for some season.* Then follows an account of the tumult at *Ephesus*. Some while after those messengers, *Timothie* and *Erastus*, were gone to *Macedonia*, and *Greece*, *Paul*, as it seems, wrote, and sent away his first letter to the *Corinthians*. From which letter we plainly perceive, that *Timothie* was in those parts. For so it is said in *1 Cor.* iv. 17. *For this cause have I sent unto you Timothie.* And *ch.* xvi. 10. 11. *Now, if Timothie come, see that he may be with you without fear . . . Let no man therefore despise him,*

him, but conduct him forth in peace, that he may come unto me. For I look for him with the brethren. Whence it appears, that at concluding that letter *Paul* was in expectation of *Timothie's* return to *Ephesus*. And very probably he did return, before *Paul* went thence. Moreover *St. Luke* said just now, that after *Timothie* and *Erastus* had been sent into *Macedonia*, *Paul* himself staid in *Asia* for a season.

St. Paul in the place above cited says, *I Tim. i. 3.* that he besought *Timothie* to abide still at *Ephesus*, when he went into *Macedonia*. Does not that term, beseeching, or entreating *Timothie*, imply some difficulty in the service required of him? And do we not see, what apprehensions *Timothie* might be under upon being left at *Ephesus*, where *Paul* had met with much opposition, and some very lately? “A (a) soft word, says *Beza* upon the place, to be used by one of much superior authority.” But if we consider the dangers of our supposed time, we may see the reason of *Paul's* speaking in that manner to *Timothie*.

Again.

(a) Παρεκάλεισα. *sum precatus, vel hortatus :*] Blando vocabulo utitur, singulare modestiae exemplum relinquens quibusvis, in maxima etiam auctoritate constitutis. *Bez: in loc.*

Again. 1 Tim. iii. 14. 15. *These things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly. But if I tarry long, that thou mayest know, how thou oughtest to behave thy-self in the house of God.* Words, which mightily suit the present time. St. Paul went into *Macedonia*, with a design to forward the collections for the poor saints in *Judea*, and then to go to *Jerusalem*. And it may be well supposed, that he had then hopes of calling in at *Ephesus*, in his way to *Judea*, and there seeing *Timothie*. However, he could not yet say the time. Which also is plainly agreeable to the Apostle's circumstances at this season. For we perceive from what St. *Luke* writes in the Acts, and from the second epistle to the *Corinthians*, writ some while afterwards in *Macedonia*, that *Paul* was not then able long before hand to fix resolutions about the time of journeys to be undertaken by him.

Farther, the time assigned by *Pearson*, and those who agree with him, must be wrong. It appears from Acts xx. 17. . . . that when *Paul* was going to *Jerusalem* in the former part of the year 58. there were Elders at *Ephesus*, and probably, in the neighboring cities of *Asia*. But when *Paul*

wrote this epistle, there seems to have been want of such officers at *Ephesus*, or thereabout. For a main design of it appears to be, to instruct *Timothie* in the proper qualifications of such men, and to admonish him to use great care and caution in the choice of them.

Once more, I am of opinion, that the second epistle to *Timothie* was writ, soon after *Paul* had been brought to *Rome* a prisoner from *Judea*. Therefore, if this epistle be prior to it, it must have been writ, before *Paul* went to *Jerusalem*, with the contributions of the Christians of *Greece*, and *Macedonia*, and other places.

There is, however, a difficulty attending our supposition. For *Timothie* is joyned with *Paul* in the inscription at the begining of the second epistle to the *Corinthians*, generally allowed to have been writ in *Macedonia*. And in Acts xx. 4. *Timothie* is mentioned among those, who accompanied *Paul* into *Asia*, when he was going to *Jerusalem* with the above mentioned contributions. All which may induce some to think, that either *Timothie* did not return to *Paul*, before he left *Ephesus*: or that *Paul* took *Timothie* with him, when he went into *Macedonia*.

To

To which I answer: We have shewed it to be very probable, that *Timothie* returned to *Ephesus*, before *Paul* left it. The Apostle therefore might send *Timothie* this letter from *Macedonia*, and afterwards send for him, to come thither to him, having some special occasion for his assistance. And though this was not entirely agreeable to the Apostle, he might be the rather disposed to it, hoping, that as he went to *Jerusalem*, he should have an opportunity to leave *Timothie* at *Ephesus*. Which, as I apprehend, he did, when he came to *Miletus*.

Farther, this difficulty is very much abated by the account formerly given of this period of our Apostle's historie. For it was then shewn, that there was a space of almost two years between *St. Paul's* going from *Ephesus*, when he went into *Macedonia*, and his coming to *Troas*, in the way to *Jerusalem*. *Timothie* therefore may have resided at *Ephesus* above a year, and yet be with the Apostle at the writing of the second epistle to the *Corinthians*, which was not sent to them till near the end of the year 57.

Dr. Benson (*b*) supposeth this epistle to have been writ at *Troas*, soon after the Apostle was come from *Ephesus*. And indeed, many learned men think, that *Paul* now went into *Macedonia* by the way of *Troas*. This has been collected from 2 Cor. iv. 12. 13. But that appears to me a difficult text. And it may be disputed, whether *Paul* there refers to his journey from *Ephesus*. For it is difficult to conceive, how the Apostle could have reason to expect *Titus* at *Troas*, at that season: considering, that his removal from *Ephesus* had been sudden, or however, somewhat sooner than he had intended. How then was it possible for him to have made an appointment for *Titus* to meet him at *Troas* punctually at the time of his arrival there.

But allowing *Paul* to have gone from *Ephesus* to *Macedonia* by the way of *Troas*, it will not follow, that this epistle was writ there. It may be concluded from 1 Tim. i. 3. that the Apostle was now in *Macedonia*, or had been there, since he left *Ephesus*. Accordingly, *Lightfoot*, *Baronius*, and *Estius*, before named, suppose this epistle to have been

(*b*) See his preface to the first epistle to *Timothie*. Sect. iii.

been writ in *Macedonia*. Says (c) *Lightfoot* :
 “ It is apparent from 1 Tim. i. 3. that this
 “ epistle was written after *Paul’s* setting out
 “ from *Ephesus* for *Macedonia*. . . . Now it
 “ cannot be conceived, to have been written,
 “ when he was going toward *Macedonia*.
 “ For then he was but newly parted from
 “ *Timothie*. And it is not likely, that he
 “ would so write to him, when he was but
 “ newly come from him. . . . Therefore it
 “ cannot but be concluded, that this epistle
 “ was written, whilst he was in *Macedonia*,
 “ or the parts thereabout, at this time that
 “ we are upon.” To which I readily as-
 sent.

I shall add only, what is also already
 hinted by *Lightfoot*, that it is very im-
 probable, that the Apostle should use those
 expressions. 1 Tim. iii. 14. *hoping to come*
and see thee shortly, before he had been in
Macedonia. St. *Paul* was much more likely
 to say this, when he had been some months
 absent from *Ephesus*, than when he had
 been come away but a few days only.

I should now say more particularly, when
 this epistle was writ. And I think, it must

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have

(c) *Harmonie of N. T. Vol. i. p. 307.*

have been writ in the year 56. In the beginning of that year, according to our account, *Paul* wrote the first epistle to the *Corinthians*. Before Pentecost in that year he left *Ephesus*. And before the end of that year, I suppose, he might write this epistle to *Timothie*. The place is not absolutely certain. Before writing this epistle the Apostle had been in *Macedonia*, since he left *Ephesus*. But whether he was now in that countrey, cannot, I apprehend, be fully determined by those expressions. 1 Tim. i. 3. However, this may be reckoned very likely, that the Apostle was either in *Macedonia*, or near it. *Lewis Cappell*, as before observed, was in doubt, which was first writ, this epistle, or the second to the *Corinthians*. About that I have no doubt. We shall soon see clear proof, that the second epistle to the *Corinthians* was writ not long before the end of the year 57. This first epistle to *Timothie* was writ in the year 56. and probably, some good while before the end of it.

§. VI. *The Epistle to Titus.*

SAYS *Theodoret* immediatly after what was transcribed from him above concerning the first epistle to *Timothie*: “After that, (*d*) as I think, was writ the epistle to *Titus*. For being still in those parts, he desired *Titus* to come to him, saying: *When I shall send unto thee Artemas, or Tychicus, be diligent to come to me at Nicopolis. For I have determined to winter there.* Tit. iii. 12. They say, that *Nicopolis* is a city of *Thrace*, nigh unto *Macedonia*.” So writes *Theodoret* in his general preface to *St. Paul's Epistles*. And in his note upon Tit. iii. 12. he says. “*Nicopolis* (*e*) is a city of *Thrace*, nigh unto *Macedonia*. It is manifest therefore,

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N 4

“ that

(*d*) Μετὰ ταύτην ὑπολαμβάνω τὴν πρὸς τίτον γεγράφθαι ἐν ἐκείνῃς γὰρ ἔτι διάγων τοῖς μέρεσι, καταλαβὼν αὐτὸν παρηγγύησε. Λέγει δὲ ἕτως· ὅταν πέμψω ἀρτεμᾶν. . . . Τὴν δὲ νικόπολιν θρακικὴν μὲν πόλιν εἶναι φασὶ, τῇ δὲ μακεδονίᾳ πελάζειν. *Theod. T. 3. p. 4. C.*

(*e*) Τῆς θράκης ἐστὶν ἡ νικόπολις, τῇ δὲ μακεδονίᾳ πελάζει. Δῆλον τοίνυν ὡς κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν, καθ' ὃν ἐν τῇ μακεδονίᾳ καὶ ἀχάϊα διέτριβεν, ἔγραψε τὴν ἐπιστολήν. *Ibid. p. 515. A.*

“ that he wrote this epistle, when he was in
“ *Macedonia*, and *Acbaia*.”

Following the opinion of this learned ancient, which I think to be very right, the epistle to *Titus* was writ in the year 56. and *Paul* spent the winter of that year at *Nicopolis*.

If it be asked, when was *Paul* in *Crete*? I answer, in general: a short time, before he wrote this epistle, as may appear from those words: *For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I appointed thee.* ch. i. 5. More particularly, I suppose, that *Paul* had been in *Crete* in this year 56. since he came from *Ephesus*, to go into *Macedonia*. About this time, I think, he was in *Crete*, and *Illyricum*, as well as in *Macedonia*. But as I do not indulge my-self in making conjectures, I do not attempt to describe the order of the Apostle's voyages. It was before shewn to be probable, that (f) between *Paul's* leaving *Ephesus* in the spring of the year 56. and his coming to *Troas*, after the Passover, in the year 58. in his way to *Jerusalem*,

(f) See before p. 106. . . . 110.

rusalem, there was the space of about two years. In that time *Paul* might do, and probably did more than is particularly related by *St. Luke*. Few learned men, considering the conciseness of *St. Luke's* manner of writing, can make any difficulty to allow, that (g) he has not related all the Apostle's journeys. It is observable, that *Titus* was the person, who was sent by *Paul* into *Dalmatia*, when he was come to *Rome*. As appears from 2 Tim. iv. 10. Which may be reckoned an argument, that he had been there before.

About this time the epistle to *Titus* was writ, according to the opinion of divers learned men, to whom I refer: as (b) *Baronius*, (i) *Cappell*, (k) *Hammond*, and (l) *Lightfoot*. *Esius* (m) could not determine the time

(g) Neque enim omnia Pauli itinera descripsit Lucas, sed notabiliora quaedam. *Witf. de Vita Pauli. Sect. 9. num. v.*

(b) *Baron. Ann. 57. num. ccix.*

(i) *Lud. Cappell. Hist. Ap. p. 16. et 66. Vid. et Jacob. Capp. Compend. in apost. hist. Chronol. Tab.*

(k) *Praef. in ep. ad Tit.*

(l) *Lightfoot's Works, Vol. i. p. 309. 310.*

(m) Quando scripta sit haec epistola, non liquet, nec facile ex Actis Apost. colligi potest, quod in iis non legatur Paulus Cretam ingressus fuisse. Verisimile est, ante captivitatem Apostoli,

time of this epistle exactly : but he thought, it was writ before the Apostle's imprisonment at *Jerusalem*, and *Rome*.

Cave in his (n) *Historia Literaria* placeth this epistle in the year 63. But, when he wrote the *Lives of the Apostles*, he (o) supposed it to have been writ soon after the first epistle to the *Corinthians*.

Mill (p) placeth this epistle in the year 64. *Pearson* (q) in 65. *Paul* having, as he supposes, been in *Crete*, and left *Titus* there the year before, that is, in 64. And many others may be of the same opinion.

But this appears to me too late a date. All that is said of *Paul's* going into *Spain*, and *Crete*, and some other places, after being released from his imprisonment at *Rome*, is mere conjecture, without any good authority, either from the books of the New Testament, or very early antiquity. It is
not

Apostoli, quia vinculorum hic nulla mentio. Imo, cum dicit cap. iii. *ibi enim statui hyemare*, plane significat, non esse vinctum. *Est. Argum. ep. ad Tit.*

(n) Epistola ad Titum . . . data anno 63. e medio aliquo loco inter Macedoniam et Nicopolim. Illic enim hyemare decreverat. *H. L. in Paulo.*

(o) See there the *Life of St. Paul*. Sect. iv. numb. ix.

(p) *Proleg. num.* 122.

(q) *Ann. Paulin.* p. 20. . . 22.

not likely, that *Paul*, who in his epistle to *Philemon* calls himself *aged*, should after that undertake new work. It is more probable, that he went to such places, where he had been before, and where he had disciples already : as he intimates in his epistles to the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, *Philemon*, the *Hebrews*. Nor is it at all likely, that (r) the *Cretans* should have been so long without being instructed in the doctrine of the gospel, as *Pearson* supposeth.

I have already shewn the most probable date of the first epistle to *Timothie*. It is likely, that the epistle to *Titus* was writ about the same time. For the state of things in both appears to be very similar. In both are instructions concerning the qualifications of Elders, or Bishops, and Deacons. So 1 Tim. iii. and Tit. i. Nor is it reasonable to think, that *Paul* should have occasion, so late as the year 64. or 65. to send to his assistants and fellow-laborers such particular directions concerning that matter, as are in these

(r) Non verisimile est, ad illud usque tempus ignoratum fuisse Christum in Creta : quum tota Achaia, Macedonia, Asia, Cyprus, Syria, personarent evangelii praeconio. *Wiss. de Vita Pauli. Sect. v. num. i.*

these two epistles. It is probable, that instructions of that kind had been given sooner. Moreover, the like errors are guarded against in both these epistles. 1 Tim. i. 4. *Neither give heed to fables, and endless genealogies. . . . ch. iv. 7. But refuse profane and old wives fables. . . . vi. 10. avoiding profane and vain babblings. . . . Tit. iii. 9. But avoid foolish questions, and genealogies, and contentions, and strivings about the law. For they are unprofitable, and vain. See also ch. i. 10. . . . 14. In both are like directions for paying a proper regard to civil magistrates. 1 Tim. ii. 1. . . . 6. and Tit. iii. 1. . . . 3. There are also like directions concerning relative duties, particularly, those of masters and servants. 1 Tim. vi. 1. 2. Tit. ii. 9. 10. *Timothie* and *Titus* are in a like manner exhorted, to take heed to themselves, and their doctrine, and to be examples of virtue. 1 Tim. i. 18. 19. iv. 6. 16. Tit. ii. 1. . . . 8. I might add, that near the conclusion of each epistle the practise of good works is in a very similar manner enjoined upon the converts to christianity.*

It appears from many texts of the second epistle to the *Corinthians*, writ in *Macedonia*, that about this time *Paul* had the assistance

assistance of *Titus* in those parts. And *Tychicus*, mentioned Tit. iii. 12. was likewise with *Paul* at this time. For he was one of the companie, that went with him into *Asia*. Acts xx. 4. And therefore, probably, not he, but *Artemas*, had been sent into *Crete*, to relieve *Titus*. Moreover, *Apollos* was at *Ephesus*, a little before *Paul* left that city, to go into *Macedonia*. That is manifest from 1 Cor. xvi. 12. And it may be reckoned very probable, that he did not stay long at *Ephesus*, after *Paul*: but either went with him into *Macedonia*, or came into those parts soon afterwards. So that *Paul* might now have occasion to commend him to *Titus*, in *Crete*, together with *Zenas*. Tit. iii. 13.

There are not in this epistle any tokens of *Paul*'s great Age, or of his being near the period of his ministrie. He is plainly at liberty at the time of writing this epistle. Nor are there any intimations of his having as yet endured any long imprisonment.

This letter may be the shorter, because, probably, *Paul* had lately writ at length upon the same subject to *Timothie*. Moreover, *Titus* was older, and might have more experience.

experience. *Chrysostom* judged (s) the brevity of this epistle to be an argument of the ability of *Titus*. "He did not need a long exhortation. A few hints were sufficient."

St. Paul says *Tit. iii. 12. When I shall send Artemas unto thee, or Tychicus, be diligent to come to me at Nicopolis. For I have determined there to winter.* Thereby *Theodoret* understood *Nicopolis* in *Thrace*, as seen above. So likewise (t) *Chrysostom*. But *Jerome* (u) supposed the Apostle to mean *Nicopolis* in *Epirus*. Neither of these interpretations is any prejudice to our argument. In which soever of those countreys *Nicopolis* was situated, the Apostle was as likely to be there at the time supposed by us, as at any other.

At

(s) . . . βραχεῖαν δὲ ποιεῖ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ἐκόντως. Καὶ τὸτο δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆ τίτῃ τεκμήριον ἦν, τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι λόγων πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τινὸς ὑπομνήσεως. *In Tit. hom. i. Tom. xi. p. 730. B.*

(t) Ἡ δ' νικόπολις τῆς θράκης ἐστὶ. *Chrys. in Tit. hom. 6. ib. p. 766. B.*

(u) Scribit igitur Apostolus, ô Paula et Eustochium, de Nicopoli, quae in Aethiaco littore sita, nunc possessionis vestrae pars vel maxima est. &c. *Hieron. Pr. in ep. ad Tit. T. 4. P. i. p. 407.*

Nicopolis ipsa est, quae ob victoriam Augusti, quod ibi Antonium et Cleopatram superârit, nomen accepit. *Id. in Tit. cap. iii. ib. p. 439.*

At *Nicopolis* the Apostle wintered, in the year 56. according to my computation. Consequently, this letter was writ some time before, in the same year 56. When the winter was over, *Paul* came into *Macedonia*, where he had been before, since he came from *Ephe- sus*. From *Macedonia* he came into *Greece*.

§. VII. *The second Epistle to the Corinthians.*

WHILST the Apostle was in *Mace- donia*, at this time, he wrote the second epistle to the *Corinthians*.

A. D.
57.

Concerning this there can be no doubt, if we attend to the epistle itself. From which it plainly appears, that the Apostle was then in *Macedonia*, and was going to *Greece*, particularly, to *Corinth*. So 2 Cor. ix. 1. . . 5. *For as touching the ministring to the saints, it is superfluous for me to write unto You. For I know the forwardnesse of your mind. For which I boast of you to them of Macedonia: that Achaia was ready a year ago. . . . Yet have I sent the brethren . . . least haply, if they of Macedonia come with me, and find you unprepared, we (that we say not you) should be ashamed in this same confident boasting.* There-

Therefore I thought it necessary to exhort the brethren, that they would go before unto you, and make up beforehand your bounty. . . . See also ch. viii. And ch. xiii. 1. This is the third time, I am coming to you.

According to *Pearson* (x) this epistle was writ in *Macedonia*, in the year 57. according to (y) *Mill*, near the end of that year. I likewise think, that it was writ in the year 57. probably, in September, or October. For the Apostle, plainly, was soon to go to *Corinth*: where he might arrive, as I apprehend, in *November*.

I suppose, it was now above a year, since writing the first epistle to the *Corinthians*. The reasons of that supposition were mentioned (z) formerly. And need not to be repeated here.

Timothie was with *Paul* at writing this epistle. For his name is in the inscription. It is likely, that (a) he had come from
Ephesus

(x) *Annal. Paulin. p. 15. A. D. lvii.*

(y) . . . sub finem, ut videtur, anni aerae vulgaris lvii. *Proleg. num. 21.*

(z) See before p. 107. . . 109.

(a) Fateor, cum Paulus esset in Macedonia, una cum illo fuisse Timotheum. 2 Cor. i. 1. et postquam hyemem trans-
egisset

Ephesus to the Apostle in *Macedonia*, either upon occasion of some affairs of that church, or at the desire of the Apostle, who needed his assistance. As before said.

§. VIII. *The Epistle to the Romans.*

THE epistle to the *Romans* is dated by (b) *Pearson* in the year 57. by (c) *Mill* in the year 58. According to our computation of *Paul's* journeys there can be no reason to hesitate about either the time, or the place of this epistle. It was writ at *Corinth* in the beginning of the year 58. before *Paul* set out on his journey to *Jerusalem*.

A. D.
58.

As *St. Luke's* few words in *Acts* xx. 1. 2. 3. afford great light, and are a sure

egisset in Epiro. Tit. iii. 12. ac per tres menses commemoratus in Graecia. Aët. xx. 2. 3. reversusque esset in Macedoniam, illi adfuisse Timotheum. Aët. xx. 4. ac recta cum illo ivisse Troadem. Quae omnia contingere potuerunt, postquam Paulus reliquisset Timotheum Ephesi: ex qua urbe tamen iverit ad Paulum, sive propter negotia Ephesinae ecclesiae, de quibus Paulum consuli ab eo oporteret, vel ut pateret Paulo, quem, ut videmus, et postea invisit, longiore itinere, Romam usque. 2 Tim. iv. 9. *Hammond. Praef. in 1 ep. Timoth. ex versione Clerici.*

(b) *Annal. Paulin. p. 15.*

(c) *Proleg. num. 26.*

guide, I recite them here. And after the uproar was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed [from Ephesus] for to go into Macedonia. And when he had gone over those parts, and given them much exhortation, he came into Greece. And there abode three Months. In the space of these three months was writ the epistle to the Romans.

According to *Theodoret* the epistle to the Romans (*d*) is the seventh in order of time, having been writ by the Apostle after the two epistles to the *Thessalonians*, and to the *Corinthians*, the first to *Timothie*, and the epistle to *Titus*. He adds : " That (*e*) the " epistle to the Romans was writ from Co-
 " rinth, is manifest from the conclusion.
 " For there the Apostle recommends *Pboebe*,
 " calling her *Deaconesse of the church in Cen-*
 " *cbrea*, which was a borough of the Co-
 " rinthians. Rom. xvi. 1. Besides, he says :
 " *Caius, my host, and of the whole church,*
 " *saluteth you.* ver. 23. By *host* he means
 " the person, who entertained him. And
 " that

(*d*) Ἐξόμην τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπίστωλε· μετὰ γὰρ δὴ ταύτας ἀπάσας ταύτην αὐτὸς γεγραφέναι διδάσκει. κ. λ. *Theod. T. 3. p. 4. C.*

(*e*) *Ibid. p. 5.*

“ that *Caius* was a *Corinthian*, we learn from
“ the first epistle to the *Corinthians*. For
“ thus he writes to them : *I thank God, that*
“ *I baptized none of you, but Crispus, and*
“ *Caius.* 1 Cor. i. 14. The epistle to the
“ *Romans* therefore is the last of the epistles
“ writ from *Asia*, and *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*;
“ and is the seventh in order, as has been
“ shewn. The rest were sent from *Rome*.”
So *Theodoret*. Who might have added, as
a proof, that this epistle was writ at *Corinth*,
what follows in ver. 23. *Erastus, the cham-*
berlain of the city, saluteth you. For by the
city I suppose to be meant *Corinth*. But
whether this *Erastus* be the same, who is
mentioned by St. *Luke* Acts xix. 22. as one
of St. *Paul*'s assistants, I cannot say certainly.

The time of writing this epistle is farther
manifest hence. It was writ after that *Paul*
had compleated his collections in *Macedonia*,
and *Achaia*, and when he was setting out for
Jerusalem. For so he writes ch. xv. 25. 26.
But now I go unto Jerusalem, to minister unto
the saints. For it has pleased them of *Mace-*
donia, and *Achaia*, to make a certain con-
tribution for the poor saints, which are at
Jerusalem. . . ver. 30. 31. Now I beseech you,
brethren, . . . that ye strive together with me,

in prayers to God for me : that I may be delivered from them that do not believe in Judea, and that my service, which I have for Jerusalem, may be accepted of the saints.

Consequently, it is probable, that it was now near the end of the *three months*, that the Apostle staid in Greece. Whence he returned to Macedonia, and after the days of unleavened bread, sailed from Philippi, to Troas, upon the continent of Asia. Acts xx. 3. . . 6. And then went to Jerusalem, where he arrived about the time of Pentecost in the year 58.

If St. Paul came to Corinth in November 57. the epistle to the Romans might be sent thence in the month of *Februarie*, in the year 58.

§. IX. *The Epistle to the Ephesians.*

CONCERNING St. Paul's Epistles, writ during his imprisonment at Rome, particularly, the epistle to the *Ephesians*.

Soon after writing the epistle to the Romans, as was before hinted, Paul set out from Corinth, on his journey to Jerusalem. In a short time after his arrival there, he was apprehended.

apprehended. And he was kept a prisoner in that countrey, till he was sent to *Rome*.

During his stay in *Judea*, we know not of his corresponding with any churches, or particular persons, by writing. But at *Rome*, though a Prisoner, he wrote divers letters. *Grotius* says, that (f) though all St. Paul's epistles are excellent, he most admires those writ by him, when a prisoner at *Rome*. And of the epistle to the *Ephesians* he says, it (g) surpasseth all human eloquence.

It is generally supposed, that St. Paul wrote there four epistles : to the *Ephesians*, the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*. *Jerome* has twice (h) spoken of these four epistles, as writ at *Rome*. *Theodoret* having spoken of the epistle to the *Romans*, as the seventh in order, and the last of those that

O 3

were

(f) Omnes epistolae Pauli egregiae sunt : sed omnium in primis, quae Româ ex vinculis missae sunt. *Gr. Pr. in ep. ad Col.*

(g) . . . rerum sublimitatem adaequans verbis sublimioribus, quam ulla unquam habuit lingua humana. *Grot. Pr. in ep. ad Eph.*

(h) Quod Romae in vincula coniectus, hanc epistolam miserit eo tempore, quo ad Philemonem, et ad Colossenses, et ad Philippenses, in alio loco scriptas esse monstravimus. *Hieron. in Eph. cap. iii. T. 4. p. 347.*

Scribit igitur ad Philemonem Romae vinctus in carcere, quo tempore mihi videntur ad Philippenses, Colossenses, et Ephesios epistolae esse dictatae. *In Philem. ib. p. 445. in.*

were sent from *Asia*, *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*, says: "The (i) rest were sent from *Rome*: "the first of which I take to be that, writ "to the *Galatians*." *Lightfoot* (k) likewise supposed the epistle to the *Galatians* to have been writ at *Rome*, and the first of those that were writ there. That is a wrong computation, as must appear from what has been already said. But beside the four above mentioned, the second epistle to *Timothie* might be writ at this season. The epistle to the *Hebrews* likewise, if it be *Paul's*, was, probably, writ about this time, either during the Apostle's imprisonment, or soon after it, before he left *Rome*, and *Italie*.

St. *Paul's* imprisonment, from the time of his being apprehended at *Jerusalem*, to his coming to *Rome*, was the space of almost, or quite three years. For a short time he was confined in the castle of *Antonia* at *Jerusalem*. Thence he was sent to *Cesarea* by the sea-side, the seat of the Roman Governour, who at that time was *Felix*. Where he was kept in *Herod's* judgement-hall. Acts xxiii. 15. And though afterwards there was an order

(i) Τὰς γὰρ δὴ ἄλλας ἀπὸ τῆς ῥώμης ἐπέστειλε· ἢ πρῶτην μὲν ἡγῆμαι τὴν πρὸς γαλάτας γραφῆναι. T. 3. p. 5.

(k) *Lightf.* Vol. i. p. 323.

order for enlarging the first strictness of his custodie, *and that his acquaintance should be permitted to come to him, and minister to him.*

ch. xxiv. 23. I suppose, he was still confined in the above mentioned prison. And, perhaps, this new order imported little more, than leave for his friends to bring him needful refreshments, and take care of his health. It does not appear, that during the space of two years, and several months, whilst he was in *Judea*, he wrote any letters, or received any, as before intimated. Says (1) *Wall*: "Those two years of imprisonment under *Felix* seem to have been the most unactive part of *St. Paul's* life. There is no account of any preachings, or disputations, or of any epistles writ in this space." Indeed, considering the violent opposition made by the Jews throughout the whole space of the Apostle's being in that country: I apprehend, there was no attempt made by *Paul*, or his friends, to procure him intelligence from the Christian churches abroad: and that the Roman Governour could not allow of any such thing. He would rather have set *Paul* at liberty, and let him go quite away. But when *Paul*

O 4

was

(1) *Notes upon the N. T. p. 257. 268.*

was brought to *Rome*, though he was under a guard, he was *suffered to dwell by himself, in his own hired house.* Acts xxviii. 16. 30. where he was *two years.* Having such liberty, he wisely employed it, not only by discoursing with all those who came to him, but also by writing several epistles.

A. D.
61.

Of all these epistles the first writ seems to me to be that to the *Ephesians*. I think, it was drawn up by the Apostle, as soon as conveniently could be, after his friends at *Rome* had taken a lodging for him, and he was settled in it.

The epistle is inscribed *to the saints which are at Ephesus, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus.* But I apprehend, that the Apostle thought of the Christians throughout *Asia*, properly so called, whether living at *Ephesus*, the chief city of the countrey, or not. To the like purpose (*m*) *Hammond*: and also Mr. *Pyle*, who paraphraseth the first verse of the epistle in this manner: “ *Paul*, called to be an Apostle, sendeth this epistle to the church of *Ephesus*, and to all the Christians of the
lesser

(*m*) Ephesum fuisse primam Metropolim Lydiae, vel provinculae Asiae, ostendimus in notis ad Coloss. iv. 16. Itaque epistola haec, Ephesiis inscripta, non est putanda ad eos solos pertinere, verum etiam ad alias urbes provinculae, imo et totius Asiae. *Hammond. Praef. in ep. ad Eph.*

lesser *Asia*, those faithfull Christians, that firmly relye upon the Christian Religion for salvation, without the observation of the Mosaical ceremonies." We are led to this supposition by what St. Paul says near the conclusion of his first epistle to the *Corinthians*, writ at *Ephesus*: *the churches of Asia salute you.* 1 Cor. ch. xv. 19. And that epistle to the *Corinthians* is addressed to the church of God, which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, with all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord, both theirs, and ours. And the second epistle to the *Corinthians* is addressed to the church of God, which is at Corinth, with all the saints, which are in all *Achaia*.

After the salutation of these Christians, at the begining of the epistle, he praiseth God for the gospel-dispensation, now made known to all men, agreeably to the gracious purpose, long since formed in the divine counsels. *Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ: according as he hath chosen us in him, before the foundation of the world.* ver. 3. 4.

to the 12. He then reminds them of their first faith in the gospel, and the circumstances of it. *In whom ye also trusted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation: in whom also, after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that holy Spirit of promise. Which is the earnest of our inheritance. . . . ver. 13. 14.* After which he lets them know, that in his confinement, since he came to *Rome*, he had heard of the continuance of their faith, and of their love for all Christians in general. Which had filled him with transports of joy and satisfaction. *Wherefore I also having heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus, and love unto all the saints, cease not to give thanks for you, making mention of you in my prayers: that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glorie, may give unto you the spirit of wisdom: or that they might be more and more illuminated, and established in the principles of true religion. ver. 15. 16. and to ver. 23.*

The account, that had been brought him of the Christians at *Ephesus*, by *Tychicus*, as may be supposed, having been very agreeable, the Apostle does not censure them for
any

any great irregularities in conduct, as he does the *Corinthians*, nor for any remarkable deviations from the simplicity of the gospel, or instability therein, as he does the *Galatians*. But he treats them with great mildness. However, he sends them a pathetic exhortation to persevere in a conversation, becoming their profession, and their privileges, and to guard against the temptations, which they might meet with either from Heathen idolaters, or corrupt and self-interested Christians.

At the end, he tells them, that he had sent *Tychicus*, who would give them information concerning his affairs, and comfort them. ch. vi. 21. 22. And then adds : *Peace be to the brethren, and love, with faith, from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.* ver. 2. 3. *Peace be to the brethren,* that is, the brethren with you, at *Ephesus*, to whom the epistle is directed. So *1 Thess. v. 27.* *I charge you by the Lord, that this epistle be read to all the holy brethren :* meaning the brethren, or Christians at *Thessalonica*. So to the *Philippians* ch. iv. 21. *Salute every saint in Christ Jesus,* meaning, undoubtedly, the Christians at *Philippi*. And then at ver. 22. *All the saints salute you :*
meaning

meaning all the Christians in general at *Rome*. It was not needful to say, of this place. The meaning is obvious.

The concluding words of this epistle are these at ver. 23. *Grace be with all them that love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity*. Which, I think, may be understood, and paraphrased after this manner. “And grace be with all those, who, like you, love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.”

That is a brief and general account of the epistle itself. I must add somewhat in behalf of the early date of it, which is here assigned by me.

There might be many considerations, inducing the Apostle to write to the *Ephesians*, soon after his arrival at *Rome*. *Ephesus* was a place of great importance, being the chief city of *Asia*, where was a great resort of merchants, and all other people. Here the Apostle chose to settle that eminent disciple of his, *Timothie*. Here also St. *John* took up his residence, after he had left *Judea*. It was the place, where *Paul* had been longer, than in any other city, except *Antioch*. Here also he had wrought many, and *special miracles*, and had great succeſſe in his preaching. Acts xix. Moreover, he had intended

intended them a visit. 1 Tim. iii. 4. But had been prevented. When he went to *Jerusalem*, it is likely, that it was earnestly desired, and confidently expected by the Christians at *Ephesus*. Such expectations are sufficiently intimated by St. Luke. Acts xx. 15. . . . 17. *The next day we came to Miletus. For Paul had determined to sail by Ephesus, because he would not spend the time in Asia. For he hasted, if possible, to be at Jerusalem the day of Pentecost. And from Miletus he sent to Ephesus, and called the Elders of the church.* Where having made a pathetic discourse, all present were much affected, and gave testimonies of a fervent affection, and high esteem. These things must have made impressions upon the Apostle, and have been well remembered by him: and may have induced him to think of writing first to this church upon his coming to *Rome*, and having liberty of correspondence.

There might be likewise some other reasons for this determination. The epistle is carried by *Tychicus*, who was of *Asia*, and, probably, an *Ephesian*. Mr. Biscoe (n) thought, that *Tychicus* accompanied the Apostle

(n) Upon the Acts. p. 435.

postle in his voyage to *Rome*. But for that I see no ground. I rather think, that like divers others of his fellow-laborers, *Tychicus* had come to *Rome* of his own accord, to meet *Paul*, and to attend upon him : or had been sent by the *Ephesians*, to pay their respects to him, and inquire into the state of his affairs. It seems to me, that *Tychicus* was one of the first, who came to the Apostle, and very soon after his arrival at *Rome*. Yea, possibly, *Tychicus* was got thither before him, as some other of the Apostle's friends likewise might be. However, *Tychicus* being now at *Rome*, he was a very fit person to go with a letter from the Apostle to *Ephesus*.

If we duly attend to the Apostle's situation, after having been above two years in a close confinement at *Cesarea*, we may be able to discern the reason of several things. Particularly, we may perceive, why this is a kind of general epistle, not much concerning itself with the affairs and circumstances of any church : but delivering, first, the doctrine of the gospel, and then the duties of it, with a fulnesse, scarcely equalled in any other of the apostolical epistles. As

Theodoret

Theodoret said: "The (o) former part of the epistle contains the doctrine of the gospel, the later part a moral admonition." Or as a learned modern says: "Being somewhat in the manner of an institute." The Apostle might well judge it best to write thus in his first letter, writ after a long silence: and in this manner, to remind his friends and converts in *Asia* of the principles of the gospel, and their obligations, as Christians.

We are likewise hence led to discern the great beauty and propriety of the several places of this epistle, where the Apostle speaks of his bonds. ch. iii. 1. *I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentils.* That for their cause, he was now in bonds, appears from the historie of his imprisonment, as related by St. *Luke* in the Acts, and particularly, from what is said ch. xxii. 21. 22. and the following verses. There is an especial suitableness in that expression of the Apostle, in a letter writ soon after his arrival at *Rome*, and especially, if it be the first letter writ by him after his being apprehended, as I think it is. And having enlarged somewhat farther

(o) See Vol. xi. p. 86.

ther upon his having been appointed an Apostle by Christ, for forwarding the gospel among Gentils, he goes on, and endeavors to comfort these Christians, and all Gentil converts in general, with regard to the afflictive dispensation, which he was under, and which might appear very strange to many. ver. 13. *Wherefore I desire, that ye faint not at my tribulations for you, which is your glorie.* Again: iv. 1. *I therefore the prisoner of the Lord beseech you.* And ch. vi. 20. he calls himself *an Ambassadour in bonds.* How suitable is this to the Apostle's circumstances, if we consider him now lately arrived in the city of Rome, the capital of the Roman Empire, and the seat of the Emperour!

I cannot forbear transcribing that passage. ch. vi. 18. . . . 20. *Praying for all saints and for me, that utterance may be given to me, that I may open my mouth boldly, to make known the myserie of the gospel. For which I am an Ambassadour in bonds: that I may speak boldly, as I ought to speak.* Wherein I do not think, the Apostle so much desires these Christians to pray for his enlargement, as that he might discharge his commission aright: and speak with the freedom and boldnesse of

of an Ambassadour from a great Prince : though he was chained as a prisoner, and had not the outward pomp and state, usual with men of that high character. This was very proper at the time of his arrival at *Rome*, where he was likely to continue some while.

There is a like passage in Col. iv. 3. 4. which, I think, ought not to be understood very differently.

It is also an argument, that this epistle was writ by the Apostle soon after his coming to *Rome* : that here are no expressions, denoting hopes of enlargement, as there are in the epistles to the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, and *Philemon* : writ, as we suppose, not long before his deliverance. Nor does he here take any notice of successes obtained at *Rome*, or give any intimations of converts made by him there, as he does Philip. i. 12. 13. 14. iv. 22. He seems indeed to have pleased himself with a prospect of recommending the gospel in his present situation. ch. iii. 7. . . 10. like to what he says 2 Tim. iv. 17. an epistle writ about the same time. But he does not intimate any advantages, obtained as yet. Nor does

he at the end of this epistle send such salutations, as at the end of the epistles to the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*. All which must lead us to think, that the circumstances of the Apostle at writing this epistle were different from his circumstances at writing those epistles: when his captivity, as is allowed, was near it's period.

Says St. Paul 2 Tim. iv. 12. *And Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus.* It is likely, that the Apostle there refers to the epistle, of which we are now speaking. He had just sent, or was sending away *Tychicus* to *Ephesus* with this epistle. I think, I shall presently shew, that the second epistle to *Timothie* was writ in the first year of the Apostle's imprisonment at *Rome*, and not very long after his arrival there. Consequently, this epistle, being there referred to, must have been sent about the same time.

That the epistle to the *Ephesians* is here referred to, has been the opinion of many. So thought (p) *Tillemont*. Who supposing, that the second to *Timothie* was writ in a second imprisonment of the Apostle at *Rome*, placeth

(p) *Saint Paul. Art. 49. et Note 58, Mem. Ec. Tom. i.*

placeth the writing of this to the *Ephesians* in the year 65. *Whitby* in his preface to the epistle to the *Ephesians* observes : “ In his close of this epistle *St. Paul* speaks thus to them. ch. vi. 21. 22. *That ye may know my affairs, and how I do . . . Tychicus shall make known unto you all things. . . .* And in the second epistle to *Timothie* he saith : *Tychicus have I sent unto Ephesus.* 2 *Tim.* iv. 12.” So *Whitby*. But forgetting, as it seems, what he had said in some other places. However, this shews, how natural and easie it is, to think the epistle to the *Ephesians* intended in that place of the second to *Timothie*. And it is what most would think, if not biaffed by some prejudice.

Theodoret in his general preface to *St. Paul's* epistles says : “ The (q) Apostle sent to the *Ephesians* and the *Colossians* at the same time, and sent them by the same messenger,” meaning *Tychicus*. But in his preface to the epistle to the *Ephesians*, having quoted Eph. vi. 21. 22. he goes on :

P 2

“ And

(q) Καὶ μὲν τοῖς καὶ ἐφεσίοις καὶ κολοσσαῖς κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔγραψε χρόνον, ἐν τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀμφοτέρων διακόνῳ χρησάμενος. *Theod. T. 3. p. 5.*

“ And (r) that he sent *Tychicus* from *Rome*,
 “ he shews in his second epistle to *Timothie*,
 “ saying: Do thy diligence to come to me
 “ shortly. . . . And *Tychicus* have I sent to
 “ *Ephesus*.” 2 Tim. iv. 10 . . 12. So *Theo-*
doret, without considering the consequence.
 For he supposed the second to *Timothie* to
 have been writ but a short time before the
 Apostle's martyrdom. But if the epistle to
 the *Ephesians* was writ, when the Apostle
 was first at *Rome*, (as *Theodoret* allows,) and
 if he refers to it in his second epistle to *Ti-*
mothie; it will follow, that this was writ
 soon after that to the *Ephesians*, and when
 the Apostle was first at *Rome*.

However, there are difficulties attending
 this opinion, which must be considered.

First, it is said, that the epistles to the
Ephesians and the *Colossians* were sent by the
 same messenger. Comp. Eph. vi. 21. 22.
 Col. iv. 7. 8. The epistle to the *Colossians*
 was sent away from *Rome*, when the Apostle
 had hopes of enlargement. Consequently,
 the epistle to the *Ephesians* was writ about
 the same time.

I answer,

(r) Τὸν δὲ μακάριον τυχικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ῥώμης ἀπέστειλε· καὶ
 τὺτο ἐν τῇ πρὸς τιμόθεον δευτέρᾳ διδάσκει. κ. λ. *Ib.* p.
 292. A.

I answer, that this is no proof. For *Tychicus* might be sent twice into the same countrey, in the time of the Apostle's two years imprisonment. *Tychicus* might be sent to *Ephesus*, with this letter to the *Ephesians*, soon after the Apostle's arrival at *Rome*, and come back to him, and be able to take another journey into those parts a year after, when the Apostle was about to be set at liberty.

Secondly, it is said, that there is a great agreement between the epistle to the *Ephesians* and that to the *Colossians*. This last, as is allowed, was writ in the second year of the Apostle's confinement, and when it was near it's end. Consequently, the epistle to the *Ephesians* was writ about the same time.

To which I answer : Undoubtedly, there is an agreement between these epistles in several things, taken notice of by (*s*) *Grotius*, and others. But it does not therefore follow, that they were sent away together. For, as has been observed by (*t*) *Lightfoot*, it is like-

P 3

ly,

(*s*) Proxima huic et argumento, et verbis etiam, est illa ad Colossenses, eodem, ni fallor, scripta tempore. *Grot. Praef. in ep. ad Eph. vid. et ejusd. Pr. in ep. ad Coloss.*

(*t*) "It may be, the parchments 2 Tim. iv. 13. were the originals

ly, that the Apostle kept copies of his letters. If so, it might be easie for him to write after the same manner at different times, to people not very remote from each other, and whose circumstances were much alike. Indeed, without keeping copies of his letters, I believe it would be no difficult matter for St. Paul to repeat the Christian principles, and exhortations to Christian virtues, at several times, in like expressions, if the circumstances of men required it.

And there are several things in the epistles themselves, which afford good reason for thinking, that they were not writ, and sent away at the same time: and that the epistle to the *Colossians* was writ some while after that to the *Ephesians*. From what is said in the second chapter of the epistle to the *Colossians*, concerning the worshipping of angels, and other matters, it may be concluded, that the Apostle had received from those parts some intelligence, which he had not,

originals of those epistles, that he had already written. For that he sent transcripts, and reserved the originals, may be collected from these passages. *I Tertius, who wrote out this epistle.* Rom. xvi. 22. See also 1 Cor. xvi. 21. Col. iv. 18. 2 Thess. iii. 17. For all the epistle beside was written with another hand." *Harmonie of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 316.*

not, when he wrote the epistle to the *Ephesians*. For there those matters are not at all touched upon.

And though there is a resemblance between these two epistles, they are very different. For the epistle to the *Ephesians* is a good deal longer than that to the *Colossians*, though the fore-mentioned article in the second chapter to the *Colossians* is entirely wanting. And in those places, where there is an agreement, there are differences.

Nor is there in the epistle to the *Ephesians* any notice taken of *Timothie*, or *Epaphras*, or *Mark*, so expressly mentioned in the epistle to the *Colossians*. Which must be reckoned a very strong, and even a demonstrative argument, that these two epistles were not writ, and sent away at the same time.

In this date of the epistle to the *Ephesians* I have (u) followed *Lightfoot*: from whom I have had great assistances in settling the time of *St. Paul's* epistles. I have likewise had, in this instance, assistances from (x)

P 4

Baronius,

(u) *As before.* p. 325.

(x) *Annal.* 59, num. xv. *Vid. et num. xx.*

Baronius, (y) Estius, (z) Hammond, and (a) Witsius.

Baronius (b) and *Lightfoot* first speak of the second epistle to *Timothie* : though they do not deny, the epistle to the *Ephesians* to have been writ before it. But as we are now inquiring into the order of time, I have judged it best to adhere to that strictly. A few weeks, yea a few days, might make a great alteration in the Apostle's circumstances at this time. And some of his friends and assistants might be daily coming to *Rome* from the provinces, and getting access to him in his apartment. By comparing these two epistles I am led to think, that when the Apostle wrote the second epistle to *Timothie*, he had been longer at *Rome*, and was better acquainted with the world about him, than when he wrote the epistle to the *Ephesians*.

Basnage

(y) Praef. in ep. ad Eph.

(z) Praef. in ep. ad Ephes.

(a) Wits. de Vit. Paul. Sect. xii. num. vi. et ix.

(b) Haec cum ita sint, nos tamen primum egimus de ipsa ad Timotheum scripta epistola, eo quod multa in ea de rebus suis Romae gestis ipse significet, ex quibus intereretur historia : quarum nulla est mentio in epistola ad Ephesios, Baron. Ann. 59. num. xv.

Basnage is singular in his sentiment concerning the time of this epistle. "That (c) it was writ at *Rome*, when *Paul* was prisoner there, he says, is manifest. But he thinks it to have been the last epistle, which was sent thence by the Apostle. He argues well enough, that it was not sent with the epistle to the *Colossians*. And he supposeth, that *Tychicus* was sent twice into these countreys by the Apostle from *Rome*." He should therefore have concluded, that this letter to the *Ephesians*, was carried by *Tychicus*, not after those other epistles, but before them.

Says St. *Paul* 2 Tim. iv. 12. *And Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus*. I suppose the Apostle here to refer to the epistle to the
Ephesians.

(c) Epistolarum omnium, quas primis in vinculis exaravit Apostolus, ea quae ad Ephesios ultima esse videtur. Ludovico enim Cappello non assentimur, qui eodem tempore ad Colossenses et ad Ephesios, epistolam scriptam esse statuit. . . . Agebat Romae Epaphras, dum Paulus scribit Colossensibus. Col. i. 8. Urbe autem aberat, cum ad Ephesios misit epistolam, in qua ne verbulo quidem meminit Epaphrae. Quinetiam non ut ad Colossenses sic et ad Ephesios nomine suo et Timothei scribit. Praeterea per Tychicum missa est epistola. Eph. vi. 21. Quae de alia prorsus Tychici professione intelligenda sunt, quam cujus meminit ad Colossenses iv. 12. Alioquin Timothei ac Epaphrae mentionem quoque injecisset. *Ann. 61. num. vii.*

Ephesians, which was carried from *Rome* to *Ephesus* by *Tychicus*. But still, perhaps, it may be questioned, whether those two epistles, that to the *Ephesians*, and the second to *Timothie* were sent away together. *Baronius* (*d*) says, they were. He says, the Apostle puts the preterit for the present. So Eph. vi. 21. 22. . . . *That ye may know my affairs, and how I do, . . . Tychicus . . . shall make known unto you all things, whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose.* And unquestionably, that way of speaking is not uncommon. Instances are obvious. So Philem. ver. 12. *Whom I have sent again.* Which may be rendred: *whom I am sending again* to you. See also ver. 19. 21. and Philip. ii. 28. So here in 2 Tim. iv. 12. The words may be rendred: *And Tychicus I am sending to Ephesus.* Nevertheless, as that interpretation, in this place, is not certain, I would not be positive. The epistle to the *Ephesians*, I think, was carried from
Rome

(*d*) Verum eidem Tabellario, nempe Tychico, dedit etiam tunc Paulus epistolam ad Ephesios. Licet in ea ad Timotheum dicat: *Tychicum misi Ephesum*: tamen praeteritum tempus pro praesenti usurpasse videtur, sicut cum ad Ephesios de eodem scribens ait: *Ut autem et vos sciatis, quae circa me sunt . . . nota faciet Tychicus . . . quem misi ad vos ad hoc ipsum, . . . Bar. ann. 59. num. xv.*

Rome by *Tychicus*, either at the same time with the second *Timothie*, or a short time only before it.

And according to my calculation, the epistle to the *Epheſians* was writ at *Rome*, ſoon after the Apoſtle's arrival there in 61. and before the ſummer of that year. It was the firſt epistle writ by the Apoſtle in that city. And it was ſent away a ſhort time before the ſecond epistle to *Timothie*, of which I ſhall ſpeak next, or together with it.

§. X. *The ſecond Epistle to Timothie.*

WE come now to the ſecond epistle to *Timothie*, which we ſuppoſe to have been ſent away together with that to the *Epheſians*, or ſoon after it.

A. D.
61.

Many learned men ſpeak of a ſecond imprisonment of *Paul* at *Rome*, and ſuppoſe, that this ſecond epistle to *Timothie* was then writ, in 67. or 68. But I do not know, that we have any good account of a ſecond imprisonment of *Paul* at *Rome*. He ſuffered martyrdom there, as ſome think, in 64. or 65. or as others, in 67. or 68. But that he

he might do, without a previous imprisonment of any duration. For he might be apprehended on a sudden, and be put to death presently. Which may be reckoned as likely, as not.

Before I proceed to the proofs, that this second epistle to *Timothie* was writ during *Paul's* imprisonment at *Rome*, when he was sent thither from *Judea* by *Festus*, I would premise, that I suppose, with most learned moderns, that *Timothie* was now at *Ephesus*.

It has been thought, that *Timothie* was not there, because it is said ch. iv. 12. *Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus*. But that argument is of no force. There was no need to say: I have sent *Tychicus* to you. There are many similar, or parallel ways of speaking in St. *Paul's* epistles. 1 Cor. xvi. 32. He speaks of his having fought with beasts at *Ephesus*: where he certainly was at that time, as appears from xvi. 8. And 2 Tim. i. 17. he says: *When Onesiphorus was at Rome, he sought me out very diligently*. He does not say, when he was here. *Lightfoot* (e) observes, that from the epistle itself it may be concluded, that *Timothie* was at *Ephesus*.

(e) Vol. i. p. 324.

Ephesus. For 1. He directs him to salute the household of *Onesiphorus*. iv. 9. who was an *Ephesian*. i. 16 . . . 18. 2. He directs *Timothie* to take *Troas* in his way to him. ch. iv. 13. which was the way, that *Paul* had gone from *Ephesus*. 2 Cor. ii. 12. and to *Ephesus* again. Acts xx. 5. 3. He warns him of *Alexander*. iv. 14. who was an *Ephesian*. 1 Tim. i. 20. Acts xix. 33. So *Lightfoot*. To which, I think, may be added, 4. *Paul's* salutation of *Priscilla* and *Aquila*. ch. iv. 19. who, probably, were now returned to *Ephesus*, and settled there, where they had been formerly. Acts xviii. 18. 19. . . 26. and 1 Cor. xvi. 19. For certain they were not now at *Rome*, where *Paul* himself was: though they were there, when he wrote the epistle to the *Romans*. xvi. 3. 4.

Here it may be asked: When did *Timothie* come to *Ephesus*? And how long had he been there? I answer, that by a very easie and probable conjecture, it may be concluded, that he was left there, when *Paul* was going up to *Jerusalem*, with the collections, which he had made among the Gentil Christians, for the poor saints in *Judea*. For *Timothie* is expressly mention-
ed

ed by St. *Luke* among the Apostle's companie in that journey. Acts xx. 3. 4. 5. And as he was about to sail into Syria, he purposed to return through Macedonia. And there accompanied him into Asia, Sopater of Berea . . . and Timothie, and of Asia, Tychicus, and Trophimus. Timothie therefore was in Paul's companie, and went with him as far as Asia, in which Ephesus stood. And so far, I suppose, all, above mentioned, accompanied Paul, but not into Syria. I apprehend, that Timothie and Tychicus staid in Asia. For we have not any intimations from St. *Luke*, or St. *Paul*, or any way, that these two were with the Apostle at Jerusalem.

Every one is here able to recollect, that when Paul went into Macedonia in the year 56. about the time of Pentecost, he left Timothie at Ephesus. 1 Tim. i. 3. But for some reasons, which may be well supposed to have been good and sufficient, he came from thence to Paul in Macedonia. For he is joyned with Paul in the salutation, at the begining of the second epistle to the Corinthians. And, as has been just seen, he attended Paul, when he left Macedonia, to proceed to Jerusalem. But no man can doubt,

doubt, that *Paul* would be willing to replace *Timothie* at *Ephesus*, where his presence was of great importance, if an opportunity should offer. Such an opportunity there now was. And, very probably, it was embraced. And *Paul* parted with him at *Miletus*, where he had sent for the Elders of the church of *Ephesus* to meet him.

Tillemont says: "It (f) is not said, what became of *Timothie*, during the two years that St. *Paul* was prisoner in *Judea*." I think, I may presume to say, he was all that time at *Ephesus*, and parts adjacent in *Asia*. *Du Pin* was of the same opinion, whose words I transcribe (g) below.

Tillemont adds presently afterwards: "It
" is however certain, that *Timothie* was at
" *Rome*, when the Apostle wrote to *Phile-*
" *mon*,

(f) *S. Timothée Mem. T. 2.*

(g) On pourroit dire néanmoins, et je ne m'eloignerois de ce sentiment, que S. Paul le laissa à Ephèse, quand s'étant arrêté à Milet, il envoya querir les prêtres de l'église d'Ephèse. Act. xx. ver. 17. Car nous lisons, que comme S. Paul parloit pour aller en Asie par Macedoine, Timothée fut un de ceux qui l'accompagnerent en Asie, ch. xx. 4. Et nous ne trouvons plus Timothée à sa compagnie, ni à Jerusalem, ni pendant sa prison de Cesarée. Si cela est, Timothée aura été établi par S. Paul pour gouverner les églises d'Asie en 58. *Du Pin. Diff. Prelim. l. 2. ch. 2. §. viii.*

“*mon*, the *Philippians*, and the *Colossians*:
“forasmuch as he is named joyntly with
“him in the titles of those three epistles.”
How *Timothie* came to be then at *Rome*, we
shall see presently.

Paul therefore parted with *Timothie* at
Miletus, as just said. And I think, that
when the Elders of *Ephesus* were come to
Miletus, *Timothie* joyned himself with them,
and stood at the head of them: and conse-
quently was one of those, of whom it is
said: *And they all wept sore, and fell on*
Paul's neck, and kissed him: sorrowing most of
all for the words which he spake, that they
should see his face no more. And they accom-
panied him to the ship. Acts xx. 37. 38.

Of this *Paul* takes notice in the most af-
fectionate manner. 2 Tim. i. 4. *Greatly de-*
sirous to see thee, being mindful of thy tears, that
I may be filled with joy. Doubtless *Paul* was
much affected by the tears of all the rest,
but especially *Timothie's*: and was now
greatly desirous to see him, who had been so
deeply struck with the thoughts of never see-
ing his face any more.

Timothie, then, was at *Ephesus*, when
this epistle was sent to him. And he had
been there from the time that *Paul* left
Miletus,

Miletus, to go to *Jerusalem*, and during his imprisonment in *Judea*.

The observation, that *Paul* here refers to the tears, shed by his friends at his parting with them at *Miletus*, appears to me very obvious: though it has been hitherto entirely overlooked, so far as I know. And it will directly lead us to the true date of this epistle. It is a most proper beginning of a letter sent by *Paul* to *Timothie* at *Ephesus*, soon after his arrival at *Rome* from *Palestine*, at the time we suppose: but it is very unlikely to be taken notice of in an epistle writ several years afterwards, and after there had been an interview: as there certainly was, when *Paul* was at *Rome*.

I shall now observe divers particulars, confirming the supposition, that St. *Paul's* second epistle to *Timothie* was writ, during the Apostle's imprisonment at *Rome*, and near the beginning of it.

1. The circumstances of the Apostle's imprisonment at *Rome*, when sent thither by *Festus*, and at the time of writing this epistle, are exactly the same.

Says St. *Luke*, Acts xxviii. 16. *Paul* was suffered to dwell by himself, with a soldier that kept him. And ver. 30. *Paul* dwelt two whole

years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him.

Here are two remarkable particulars. First, that Paul dwelt by himself, with a soldier that kept him : that is, after the manner of the Romans, by an iron chain, of convenient length, he was fastened to a soldier, who had one end of the chain upon his left had, and Paul the other end upon his right hand. As was largely shewn (b) formerly. To this St. Paul refers in this his second epistle to *Timothie*. i. 16. speaking of *Onesiphorus* : *He oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain.* So exactly, *Acts* xxviii. 20. *Because for the hope of Israel, I am bound with this chain.*

Secondly. The other remarkable particular is, that when at Rome, Paul dwelled in his own hired house, and received all who came in unto him. Such also was his case at writing this epistle, as appears abundantly from ch. iv. 10. and other places. He had with him *Demas*, *Crescens*, *Titus*. The first was gone to *Thessalonica*, without his approbation : the others were gone, whither he had sent them, as it seems. And *Luke* was still

(b) See of this work Part i. B. i. ch. x. §. ix.

still with him. And at ver. 21. he sends salutations to *Timothie* from divers persons, and from the church at *Rome* in general, saying: *Eubulus greeteth thee, and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren.* Which shews, that people had free access to the Apostle, when he wrote this epistle.

1. Obj. However, it has been objected, that (i) when *Onesiphorus* came to *Rome*, *Paul* was close shut up, and *Onesiphorus* had much difficulty in finding him. Which is different from the imprisonment, of which *St. Luke* has given an account.

To which I answer, that *Onesiphorus* had no uncommon difficulty in his access to *Paul*, whose words are, 2 Tim. ii. 16. 17. *The Lord give mercie to the house of Onesiphorus. For he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain. But when he was at Rome, he sought me out very diligently, and came unto me: that is, I think: " Onesiphorus*

Q 2

(i) In secundis vinculis alia statim rerum facies fuit. Tunc enim *Onesiphorus*, inquit, cum *Romam* venisset, solícite me quaesivit, et invenit. i. 17. An opus erat, ut *Onesiphorus* σπουδαίοντες, et cum tanto studio ac solícitudine quaereret *Paulum*, et ex tam sedula inquisitione inveniret, si *Apostolus* aut in eadem domo, aut cum eadem libertate, et non in arcta et abdita custodia praedicasset? *Pearson. De Success. primar. Rom. Episcop. Diff. i. cap. 9. n. viii.*

"*phorus* has been often with me, and refreshed me, with presents, and with his conversation, without being at all ashamed of me, though I had a chain upon me." Which shews, that *Onesiphorus* might come to visit the Apostle, when he pleased : and might give him as much relief, as he saw good. "Yea, says the Apostle, as soon as he came to *Rome*, he made inquiries after me, and came to see me without delay."

Here appear not any tokens of *Paul's* being under a very strict confinement. But here are evidences of his being in such a condition, as that represented by St. *Luke*, when he had been brought from *Judea* to *Rome*. *Onesiphorus* seems to have come to *Rome*, soon after the Apostle's arrival there. In order to find him out, and know where he was, it was needfull to make some inquiries. How else should any man find a stranger in a great city ? Whether he was quite at liberty, or in one of the prisons of it, some inquiries would be needfull. And when *Onesiphorus* had found the place, where *Paul* was, he came to it without any difficulty.

Witfius

Witsius (*k*) speaks exactly to the like purpose. And supposeth, that after some inquiries (such as are needfull, when a man comes to a large city, and wants to see a stranger newly arrived,) *Onesiphorus* found *Paul* with the soldier, in his own hired house.

The case I take to be this. *Onesiphorus* came to *Rome* upon his own secular business. He knew very well, that *Paul* had been carried thither, as a prisoner. But what was become of him, he did not know: whether he had been set at liberty, or was still a prisoner, or had been put to death. Upon coming to *Rome* therefore, not long after *Paul* had been brought thither, he made anxious inquiries after him. And hearing where *Paul* was, he readily came

Q 3

to

(*k*) Quando *Onesiphorus* *Paulum* *Romae* quaesitum venit, non videtur invenisse in carcerem coniectum, arctaque custodia detentum, sed militi suo alligatum, in diversio. Sic enim *Paulus*: Καὶ τὴν ἄλυσίν μου οὐκ ἐπηχύνθη. . . . Et sane quamvis vincula *Pauli* nota fuerint in toto Praetorio, non tamen inde consequitur, *Pauli* domum ita notam omnibus fuisse, ut homini peregre advenienti, in urbe quae orbis compendium erat, ad captivi *Judaei* domum inveniendam diligenti inquisitione non fuerit opus. Praesertim si attendamus, facta haec esse initio vinculorum *Pauli*, antequam eum celebritatis gradum esset nactus. *Wits.* ubi supra. scilicet. 12. num. vi.

to him, notwithstanding his disgraceful circumstance, being chained to a soldier. And so long as he staid in *Rome*, he made the Apostle frequent visits, and afforded him such refreshment, as was in his power.

2. Obj. But it is urged, that St. Paul says, 2 Tim. ii. 9. (1)—*Wherein I suffer, as an evil doer, even unto bonds.*

To which I answer, that the word, here rendred *bonds*, is the same that is used in other epistles, writ during the Apostle's imprisonment at *Rome*, when sent thither by *Festus*. Col. iv. 18. *Remember my bonds.* Μνημονεύετε με τῶν δεσμῶν. The same word is used at lest four times in the epistle to the *Philippians*. ch. i. 7. 13. 14. 16. and in *Philem.* ver. 10. and 13. *Hebr.* x. 34. And to the *Ephesians* he says iii. 1. *I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ.* ὁ δεσμιος. And ch. iv. 1. *The prisoner of the Lord.* Not to mention any other places. When *Paul* was so bound, he had reason to say, *he suffered as an evil-doer, or malefactor, even unto bonds.* He was not a malefactor, or notorious offender, nor a criminal : but was innocent in the view of the Roman laws, as well

(1) Ἐν ᾧ κακοπαθῶ μέχρι δεσμῶν, ὡς κακῆργος.

well as in point of reason, justice, and equity. But he suffered, *as an evil-doer*. Had he not reason to say so, when he was sent bound from *Judea* to *Rome*? Had he not been prosecuted, as a malefactor? Did not the Jewish multitude, who first laid hold of him, intend to kill him? *Acts* xxi. 31. . . 36. xxiii. 27. xxiv. 6. Did not the multitude, who heard him with patience for a while, at length say: *Away with such a fellow. For it is not fit, that he should live?* xxii. 22. Does not *Festus* say to *King Agrippa*, and the large assemblie at *Cesarea*? *Ye see this man, about whom all the multitude of the Jews have dealt with me, both at Jerusalem, and also here, crying, that he ought not to live any longer.* xxv. 24. So that he was prosecuted as a malefactor all the while that he was in *Judea*. Nor does it appear, that there was any likelihood of his escape, but by appealing to the Emperour. And was he not after all sent bound to *Rome*, with many obnoxious persons under the command of a Centurion? Certainly, I think, these things afforded sufficient ground for *Paul* to say what he does in this place to *Timothie*.

But to insinuate from these expressions, that *Paul* was now in some close confinement, his friends debarred access to him, and himself forbid the use of pen, ink, and paper, I humbly conceive, is altogether without foundation. It is inconsistent with the whole tenour of the epistle, and with the Apostle's writing, or enditing, and sending such a letter as this to *Timothie*. Wherein too he desires *Timothie* to come unto him.

St. *Paul*'s imprisonment at *Rome*, when sent thither by *Festus*, was occasioned by his zeal for the liberty of the Gentils, as is manifest from Acts xxii. 21. 22. Of which he also takes notice, Eph. iii. 1. saying: *I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ, for you Gentils.* His imprisonment at *Rome*, at the time of writing this epistle, was owing to the same thing. For he says here, ch. i. 11. 12. *Whereunto I am appointed a preacher, and an apostle, and a teacher of the Gentils. For the which cause I also suffer these things.* This is very observable. And indeed the twelve verses at the begining of this epistle are a most proper introduction to an epistle, sent to *Timothie* by *Paul*, at the time, for which we argue.

Thus

Thus the circumstances of *Paul's* confinement at the time of writing this epistle, compared with the circumstances of that confinement at *Rome*, of which *St. Luke* has given a general account, and in which it is allowed, that *St. Paul* wrote epistles to the *Ephesians*, *Philippians*, *Colossians*, *Pbilemon*, shew it to be one and the same imprisonment, and that this epistle also was writ about the same time with them.

2. *St. Luke* was with the Apostle at *Rome*, when he wrote this epistle. 2 Tim. iv. 11. And we know from the Acts, that he went with *Paul* from *Judea* to *Rome*, when he was sent thither by *Festus*. He is likewise mentioned in the epistles to the *Colossians*, and *Pbilemon*, writ during this imprisonment. But it would be presumption to say, that *St. Luke* was with the Apostle at *Rome*, in another imprisonment, three, or four, or five years after this : especially, when we see, that his historie of *St. Paul* in the book of the Acts concludes with the account of his two years imprisonment at *Rome*, when sent thither by *Festus*.

3. Since the Apostle's coming to *Rome*, he had had with him, beside *Luke*, who accompanied

accompanied him, *Demas, Crescens, Titus, Tychicus*, four of his assistants and fellow-laborers. Which might be likely enough to be expected, when *Paul* was sent from *Judea* to *Rome*. But it cannot be said to have been likely at any other season. But at this it was. For *Paul's* imprisonment in *Judea* had lasted above two years. And it must have been known to all Gentil Christians throughout the world, and observed by them with astonishment, and grief. And his last appearance before *Festus*, and others at *Cesarea*, was a very remarkable thing, and must have soon come to the knowledge of all Christians in *Syria, Asia, Greece*, and *Italie*. At that assemblie it was determined, that *Paul* should go to *Rome*. He took shipping at *Cesarea* with others. He had a long and dangerous voyage. And after such an imprisonment in *Judea*, as that related by *St. Luke*, with all it's circumstances, it may be reckoned highly probable, that some good number of the Apostle's affectionate friends, especially his fellow-laborers, if not too much engaged, should form a design, and do their utmost, to meet him at *Rome*. It seems to me very likely,

likely, that some such persons should with this view get to *Rome*, before *Paul* himself. Accordingly, we have seen four such persons mentioned by *Paul* in this epistle. It is a striking circumstance, and exceedingly favors our argument for the time of this epistle.

4. Says St. *Paul* 2 Tim. iv. 20. *Erastus* abode at *Corinth*. Which is agreeable to the account of St. *Paul's* journey to *Jerusalem*, as related by St. *Luke*. For Acts xix. 22. *Erastus* is expressly mentioned as one of those, who ministered to *Paul*, whom he sent from *Ephesus* to *Macedonia*. Nor is *Erastus* among those, who went with *Paul* from *Macedonia*. Acts xx. 4. It (*m*) is therefore very likely, that he stayed at *Corinth*, and did not go with the Apostle to *Jerusalem*. This *Timothie* knew very well. Nevertheless, it (*n*) is very properly mentioned together

(*m*) *Erastus remansit Corinthi.*] Fuerat in Macedoniam missus a Paulo. Acts xix. 20. Deinde Corinthum redierat, ibique manserat, nec venerat Romam. Grot. in 2 Tim. iv. 20.

(*n*) Quod Erastum Corinthi mansisse scribit, non tanquam rem novam incognitamque Timotheo renunciat: refert tamen, uti attinentem ad scopum suum. &c. Wits. de Vit. Pauli. Sect. xii. n. vi.

ther with other particulars, shewing *Timothie* the reasonableness of his coming to him, and the need, which the Apostle had of his presence.

We should here recollect what was formerly said of the Apostle's situation at *Rome*, after a long and close confinement in *Judea*. And then we shall easily account for *Paul's* mentioning to *Timothie* divers things, which had happened some good while before. In a word, *Paul* may take the same notice of several things, which had happened before parting with *Timothie* at *Miletus*, in the same manner that he would have mentioned them, supposing him to have staid but a few weeks at *Jerusalem*, and then sailed from *Cesarea* to *Rome*, and soon after his arrival at *Rome*, had writ to *Timothie*, to come to him. For all the time of the Apostle's close confinement in *Judea* had been sunk and annihilated in his computation.

5. In the same verse. *Trophimus have I left at Miletus sick*. Another particular, leading to that date of this epistle, for which we argue.

We know from Acts xxi. 29. that *Trophimus* was with *Paul* at *Jerusalem*. It may be

be reckoned probable, that he set out with *Paul* from *Cesarea* to go to *Rome*. *St. Luke* indeed *Acts* xxvii. 2. mentions not expressly any companions of *Paul* in his voyage, beside himself, and *Aristarchus*. Nevertheless *Trophimus* likewise may have embarked with him. The reason of not mentioning him may be, that he did not compleat the voyage, having fallen sick, and therefore had been left at *Miletus*. This *Timothie* might know very well. Nevertheless it is fitly taken notice of by *Paul*, in a letter, writ soon after finishing the voyage, and when writing to *Timothie*, to come to him.

But when was *Trophimus* left at *Miletus*? *Beza* (o) was inclined to read here *Μελίτη*, *Melita*, *Malta*, instead of *Μιλήτω*, *Miletus*. Which conjecture, is approved by (p) *Grotius*. But if *Miletus* should be reckoned the true reading, *Beza* supposeth, that

(o) Nempe in illa tarda navigatione, cum praetervehere-
tur littus Asiae, sicuti narratur *Act.* xxvii. 7. Quamquam
potius conjicio legendum ἐν μελίτῃ, in *Melita*. Quod vo-
cabulum facile fuit in μιλήτῃ depravare. *Bez. in 2 Tim. iv.*
20.

(p) Omnino assentior doctissimo *Bezae* legenti ἐν μελίτῃ.
... In itinere Hierosolymis *Paulus* meliten attigit, non *Mi-*
letum. *Grot. in loc.*

that *Trophimus* might be set on shore in the time of that *slow sailing*, mentioned Acts xxvii. 7. *Lightfoot* (q) concludes from what is in Acts xxvii. 2. that *Paul* had a good opportunity to leave *Trophimus* at *Miletus*.

This will be farther confirmed, if we admit the interpretation given by *Wall*, without any view to the use, which we are about to make of it. "Acts xxvii. 2. *meaning to sail by the coasts of Asia*. Μέλλοντες
 " πλεῖν τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀσίαν τόπῳ. The ship
 " meant

(q) "But when was he left? Not when *Paul* went toward *Jerusalem*, and sent for the Elders of *Ephesus* to *Miletus*. Acts xx. For *Trophimus* went, and was with *Paul* at *Jerusalem*. xxi. 19. But it was, when *Paul* returned from *Jerusalem*, as has been said, though it be not particularly mentioned, that he touched there. . . . *Luke* says plainly, that at *Paul's* coming away from *Judea* in his voyage to *Rome*, it was their resolution *to sail by the coasts of Asia*. Acts xxvii. 2. Which would have been a fairer ground to have concluded upon, that *Paul* was at *Miletus* in this voyage, since that was a part of those *Asian coasts*, than to change *Miletus* into *Melita*, upon no ground at all. And certainly the very scope of the Apostle in that passage will not admit of that change. For he is not telling *Timothie* of *Erasus* his abode at *Corinth*, or of *Trophimus's* sick-stay at *Miletus*, as things unknown to him, but as things very well known, yet mentioned to him, as making to the Apostle's purpose." *Lightfoot's Harmonie of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 324.*

“meant to call at some places in *Asia*.
 “This is a different phrase from that, ch.
 “xx. 16. παραπλεῦσαι Ἐφεσον. *to sail by*
 “*Ephesus*, that is, to leave it, to pass by it,
 “without calling.” It is, then, a very easy
 and natural supposition, that *Paul* might
 have an opportunity of setting *Trophimus* on
 shore at *Miletus*.

6. St. *Paul* desires *Timothie* to come to him
shortly. ch. iv. 9. And unquestionably he
 did so. We find his name in the saluta-
 tions at the begining of the epistles to the
Philippians, the *Colossians*, *Philemon*, writ
 during this imprisonment, and near it's pe-
 riod. *Witsius* (r) observes, that in the *Acts*
 there is no account of *Timothie's* accompa-
 nying *Paul* to *Rome*. *Timothie* therefore
 not being there at the begining of the A-
 postle's captivity in that city, he might have
 occasion

(r) Pro certo habent, Timotheum initio priorum Pauli
 vinculorum Romae non fuisse. Etenim in Actibus Apostolicis
 nihil ultra de Timotheo dicitur, quam quod Paulum Hiero-
 solymam proficiscentem in Asiam fuerit comitatus, cap. xx. 4.
 Exinde nulla Timothei mentio : de itinere Hierosolymitano,
 nedum de navigatione Romana, ἐδὲ γὰρ. Quia vero res
 ipfius adeo Pauli rebus innexae fuere, ipseque tam eximiam
 sustinuit personam, vix videtur praeteriri potuisse in tanta re-
 rum quae Paulo acciderunt varietate. &c. *De Vit. Pauli. sect.*
 12. num. v.

occasion to send a letter to him, at the time supposed by us. This particular is well enforced by *Witsius* at the beginning of his argument upon the date of this epistle.

7. Ver. 11. St. Paul says : *Take Mark, and bring him with thee.* And doubtless *Timothie* did bring *Mark* to *Rome*. For he is mentioned with others. Col. iv. 10. and Philem. ver. 24. and comprehended in those general expressions. Philip. iv. 21.

Grotius, in (s) his notes upon 2 Tim. iv. 9. 11. says the same of *Timothie*, *Luke*, and *Mark*, that I have done. It is strange, that he did not discern the consequence, which is so obvious : that this second epistle to *Timothie* must have been writ, before the epistles to the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*. But that he discerned this consequence, does not appear clearly from his preface to this epistle. Whether he did, or not,

(s) Σπέδασον ἐλθεῖν πρὸς με ταχέως· nempe Romam. Et hoc fecit Timotheus, ut apparet. Coloss. i. 1. Philem. i. Hebr. xiii. Philip. ii. 19. *Grot. in 2 Tim. iv. 9. vid. et in ver. 11.*

Λυκᾶς ἐστὶ μόνος μετ' ἐμῷ. Nam post iter illud, quod sine Aëtorum descripsit, mansit in Italiâ cum Paulo. Col. iv. 14. Philem. ver. 24.

Μάρκον ἀναλαβὼν ἄγαγε μετὰ σεαυτῷ. . . . Et hoc desiderium Pauli impletum est. Vide Philem. 24. Coloss. iv. 10. *Id. in ver. 11.*

not, he admits our interpretations. And the consequence is unavoidable. It follows also from what he says upon ver. 20. of *Trophimus* having been left at *Melita*, in *Paul's* voyage from *Judea* to *Rome*, as before observed, and from some other things said by him in his Annotations on this epistle. Which may be taken notice of hereafter.

8. Ver. 13. *The cloak, that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring with thee, and the books, especially the parchments.*

As *St. Paul* went to *Jerusalem* by the way of *Troas*, we are hereby led to the time of this imprisonment: especially, when we consider, that *Timothie* accompanied the Apostle in that journey, as far as *Asia*. And *Paul* here seems to write to *Timothie*, as knowing *Carpus*, and that these things had been left with him.

If it be objected, that (*t*) *Paul* had at that time several friends with him, who

(*t*) Quia jubet fibi adferri penulam, quam Troade apud Carpum reliquerat, et libros. . . . Ineptum autem est vel cogitare Paulum haec Troade reliquisse, quum tot secum haberet comites, et collectas Hierosolymam perferendas, et navem ubique conduceret. *Ap. Wats. ibid. Sect. 12. num. iv.*

might be willing to take care of those things: We (u) readily answer: It is true. Nor need it be supposed, that in any other journey *Paul* was without a sufficient number of friends, to perform for him any needful service of that kind. There might be other reasons for leaving those things behind him.

We need not inquire, what were those reasons, nor what were those things. However I shall observe here what *Lightfoot* says of the word, rendred *cloak*, in his account of St. *Paul's* journey from *Troas* to *Jerusalem*: "When (x) he goes now from
 "thence, it is most likely, was the time,
 "when he left his cloak, and parchments
 "with *Carpus*. 2 Tim. iv. 13. His *cloak*.
 "For he was now going among his own na-
 "tion in *Judea*, and there he was to wear
 "his

(u) Respondetur: Non magis ineptum esse cogitare, Paulum penulam suam cum libris quibusdam et membranis Troade reliquisse in illo itinere, quod Lucas meminit, quam in alio, quod supponitur, quocumque. Si enim id consulto factum sit, ratio consilii aequè nobis in obscuro manet: quippe nullibi tradita. Si per oblivionem aliquam aut negligentiam ejus qui Paulo ministrabat: quo plures erant, majorisque momenti sarcinae, eo facilius esse videtur unius aliqujus, et vilioris, forsan, neglectus. &c. *Wits. ib. sect. 12. num. vi.*

(x) *As before. p. 316.*

“ his Jewish habit. And he left his Roman
 “ garb here, till he should come into those
 “ Roman quarters again.”

9. The progresse of the gospel at the time
 of writing this epistle, and the other epistles,
 confessedly writ in the time of St. *Paul's* im-
 prisonment at *Rome*, when sent thither from
Judea, appears to be the same, or very much
 alike.

To the *Philippians* he writes i. 12. 13.
I would, ye should understand, brethren, that
the things which have happened unto me, have
fallen out rather to the furtherance of the gos-
pel: so that my bonds in Christ are manifest in
all the palace, and in all other places. See
also ver. 14. . . . 18. In this second epistle
to Timothie he says. ch. ii. 9. — that though
he suffered unto bonds, the word of God was not
bound. And see iv. 16. 17. And at ver.
11. he desires, that Mark would come to
him: for, says he, he is profitable to me for
the ministrie: supposing, that he should have
employment for him, wherein he might
promote the interest of the gospel. Paul
could speak more distinctly of his successes,
and of the oppositions, which he met with
at Rome, in the epistles writ a short time be-

R 2 fore

fore his enlargement. But even now he appears to have had in prospect those things, which were afterwards accomplished.

10. At ch. iii. 11. he reminds *Timothie* of the persecutions, and afflictions, which he had endured at *Antioch*, *Iconium*, *Lystra*, all well known to *Timothie*. Which is very proper and seasonable, at our supposed time of writing this epistle: more seasonable, than it would have been several years afterwards.

Some, perhaps, may think it reasonable to expect more notice taken of the Apostle's imprisonment in *Judea*, and at *Rome*. But we suppose, that to be the very imprisonment, which he was now under, and of which he often speaks in this epistle, saying, that he *suffered trouble, even unto bonds*: that he *endured all things for the elects sake*: that *Onesiphorus was not ashamed of his chain*: that he had *made an apologie, when all men forsook him*. But if this letter had been writ several years after his imprisonment in *Judea*, and at *Rome*; it would have been reasonable to expect some references to it, as a thing past, in his exhortations to *Timothie*, in speaking of persecutions and afflictions formerly endured by him.

11. Ch. ii. 22. *Flee also youthful lusts.* An exhortation to *Timothie* more suitable now, than several years afterwards. Indeed, this whole epistle is an admonition to *Timothie*, as a Christian, and a Minister, better suiting the time of *St. Paul's* imprisonment at *Rome*, when sent thither from *Judea*, than any later time.

12. Ch. iv. 16. 17. *At my first answer no man stood with me, but all men forsook me. . . . Notwithstanding the Lord stood with me, and strengthened me, that by me the preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentils might hear. And I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion.*

These words afford a strong argument, that this epistle was writ, when *Paul* was sent bound from *Judea* to *Rome*. For it is much more reasonable to think, that *Paul* would speak of such an apologie in an epistle writ soon after it was made, than in an epistle writ five or six years afterwards. That *Paul* speaks of an apologie made at the time supposed by us, is very probable. And this text was so understood by several ancient writers, *Eusebius*, *Jerome*, *Chrysostom*, and
R 3 *Theodoret.*

Theodoret. The words of (y) *Eusebius* I transcribe below in his own language. *Jerome's* words were transcribed by us (z) formerly, and are fit to be repeated here. They represent the same sentiment with that in *Eusebius* : from whom, probably, and from some other ancients, he learned it. “ It (a) should be observed, says he, that at “ the time of his first apologie, *Nero's* go- “ vernment not being yet quite degenerat- “ ed, nor disgraced with the horrible wick- “ ednesse, which historians speak of, *Paul* “ was

(y) . . . τότε μὲν οὖν ἀπολογισάμενον, αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς κηρύγματος διακονίαν λόγος ἔχει σείλασθαι τὸν ἀπόστολον· δεύτερον δὲ ἐπιβάντα τῇ αὐτῇ πάλαι τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν τελειωθῆναι μαρτυρίῳ : ἐν ᾧ δεσμοῖς ἐχόμενος τὴν πρὸς τιμόθεον δευτέραν ἐπιστολὴν συντάττει, ὅμῃ σημάινων τὴν τε παρτέραν αὐτῷ γενομένην ἀπολογίαν, καὶ τὴν παραπόδας τελείωσιν. . . . Εἰκὸς γένοι κατὰ μὲν ἀρχὰς ἡπιώτερον τῷ νέρῳ διακειμένῳ, ῥᾶν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς δόγματος τῆς πᾶντε καταδεχθῆναι ἀπολογίαν· προελθόντος δὲ εἰς ἀθεμίτες τόλμας, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγχειρισθῆναι. *H. E. l. i. cap. 22. p. 62. A. et D.*

(z) See *ch. 114. Vol. x. p. 110, 111.*

• (a) Sciendum autem, in prima satisfactione, necdum *Neronis* imperio roborato, nec in tanta erumpente scelera, quanta de eo narrant historiae, Paulum a *Nerone* dimissum, ut evangelium Christi in Occidentis quoque partibus praedicaret, Sicut ipse in secunda epistola ad *Timotheum*, eo tempore quo et passus est, de vinculis dictans epistolam. &c. — *De V. l. cap. V.*

“ was set at liberty, that he might preach
 “ the gospel in the western parts of the
 “ world : as himself writes in the second
 “ epistle to *Timothie*, dictated by him in
 “ his bonds, at the time he suffered.” And
 what follows.

And *Chrysostom* in a homilie upon the
 fourth chapter of this epistle : “ How, says
 “ (b) he, shall we understand this first apo-
 “ logie ? He was at first brought before the
 “ Emperour, and escaped. But when he
 “ had converted his cup-bearer, then he was
 “ beheaded.”

Theodoret is very exprefs in his comment.
 “ When (c) upon his appeal, he was sent
 “ to *Rome* by *Festus*, having apologized for
 “ himself, he was dismissed as innocent, and
 “ went into *Spain*, and other nations. . . By
 “ the first apologie therefore he meaneth
 “ that which was then made. *And I was*

R 4

“ delivered

(b) Πόθεν δὲ πρώτην ἀπολογία λέγει ; Παρέστι ἤδη τῷ
 νέαντι, καὶ διέφυγεν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸν ἀνοχόου αὐτῷ κατήχησε,
 τότε αὐτὸν ἀπέτεμεν. In 2 ep. ad Tim. cap. iv. hom. 10. T.
 xi. p. 722. B.

(c) Ἦνίκα τῇ ἐφέσει χρησάμενος εἰς τὴν ῥάμην ὑπὸ τῷ φησὶ
 παραπεμόθη, ἀπολογησάμενος ὡς ἀθῶος ἐφείθη. . . . Πρώτην τοί-
 νον ἀπολογία τὴν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐκδημίᾳ γεγενημένην ἐκάλεσα.
 κ. λ. In 2 ep. Tim. iv. 26. Tom. 3. p. 506.

"*delivered out of the mouth of the lion.*" So
 "he calls Nero, as being Emperour, and a
 "cruel man."

Indeed this defense, or apologie, cannot relate to any other time. For he says: *But the Lord stood with me, and strenghtened me; that by me the preaching might be fully known, and all the Gentils might hear.* This could not be said at any supposed second imprisonment, when the Apostle was near his end. But must relate to the prospect of succeſſe, which he had soon after he was brought from Judea to Rome. At that time these expressions were exceedingly proper, and his expectations were fully answered. As may be collected from Philip. ii. 12. . . . 20. and iv. 22. *Witsius* has some observations upon this place, which (d) deserve to be transcribed.

(d) Puto haec ad ea quae Romae tunc gesta sunt referenda esse. Ibi enim constitutus tunc fuit Paulus, ut in summo totius mundi loco, unde evangelii ab ipso praedicati sonus, non tanquam buccinae, sed tanquam tonitru, quaqua-versum audiretur. . . . Porro ea, quae Romae, quae in Praetorio, quae ad tribunal Caesaris dicebantur, vel agebantur, in tanta confluentium multitudine, celeri fama, per omnes totius propemodum orbis gentes vulgata fuere. Quibus non parum ponderis ex eo accessit, quod captivus iste, tam mirabilium rerum anunciator, a popularibus quidem suis accusatus,

scribed. So do likewise the observations of another learned writer, (e) they being well suited to illustrate this text.

For farther clearing up this point, I must stay somewhat longer here. I cannot but think it very evident, that *Paul* was now brought before the Emperour, and that he here refers to it. *Lightfoot* supposeth,

“ that

satus, sed a Caesare absolutus, vel certe non damnatus esset. *Wiss. de Vit. Paul.* §. 12. num. xxxii.

(e) Idem jam a Paulo indicatum. 2 Tim. iv. 16. 17. *In prima mea defensione nemo mihi adsuit, sed omnes, nimirum Christiani, Romae tum Pauli aggregati, me deseruerunt. . . . Dominus autem mihi adsuit, et confortavit me, ut per me promulgatio evangelii compleretur, et omnes gentes illud audirent: Etenim liberatus fui ex ore leonis, quocum jamjam mihi erat depugnandum. . . . Paulus docet, sese, adjuvante Deo, ab intentata sibi cum leone depugnatione fuisse ereptum: sese causam suam ita dixisse, ut liber et inviolatus fuerit dimissus e Praetorio: Deum hoc pacto promulgationem evangelii promovisse, et in celebritatem deduxisse, ac ad securitatem. Securitas adnuntiationis sita est in voce *πληροφορίας*, quae a nave, plenis velis ac liberrime iuvehente, est desumpta. Eum igitur finem liberationis suae Numen Supremum voluerat esse proprium, ut Paulus in posterum eo liberius doctrinam evangelii evulgaret. Roma erat locus celeberrimus. Quidquid ibi gerebatur, id putabatur agi in luce orbis terrarum. Causa itaque Pauli inde innotuit ac increbuit passim, ac quicumque de ea aliquid audiebant, avidi fuerunt redditi doctrinae quoque ipsius, quam docebat, audiendae et cognoscendae. *J. Ch. Harenberg. Otia Ganderhem. Observ. 8. §. iii.**

"that (f) in those words, *at my first answer, Paul* does not so much refer to what, or how many answers, he was called to: but intimates, that even at the first pinch and appearance of danger, all that should have been his assistants started from him." And that may be the meaning. Nevertheless it is not impossible, that *Paul* might make two apologies, one soon after the other, at the first of which all forsook him: whereas, at the second, there were some, who appeared with him, and spoke in his behalf. But however that may be, I am of opinion, that *Paul* was brought before *Nero* himself, and that he here speaks of it. Several (g) moderns have perceived this. But though this opinion had never had the patronage

(f) *As before. p. 322.*

(g) I shall cite an author or two here, though they may not agree with me about the time of *Paul's* appearance before the Emperour.

"Acts xxvii. 24. *Thou must be brought before Cesar.* By this, and by what *Paul* says, 2 Tim. iv. 17. it seems, that he had a personal hearing before *Nero* himself." *Wall's Crit. Notes upon the N. T. p. 271.*

Nous ne saurions douter au moins que S. Paul n'ait comparu devant Neron peu de temps avant sa mort, comme on le voit par sa seconde epître à Timothée. *Tillem. S. Paul. note 40. Mem. T. i. p. 531. Paris.*

patronage of any great names, I apprehend, it might be deduced with certainty from St. *Luke's* historie in the *Acts*. He is very concise in what he says of *Paul* after his arrival at *Rome*. Nor has he said, that *Paul* was brought before *Nero*. But it may be argued, and concluded from what he has said.

When *Paul* was first brought before *Festus* at *Cesarea*, after he had been left bound by *Felix*, at the end of two years imprisonment, and *Festus* proposed, that he should go up to *Jerusalem*, and be there judged before him, *Paul* said: *I stand at Caesar's judgement seat, where I ought to be judged.* *Acts* xxv. 9. 10. Then *Festus*, when he had conferred with his council, answered: *Hast thou appealed unto Cesar? Unto Cesar shalt thou go.* ver. 12. Therefore that was now determined. When *Festus* first spoke to King *Agrippa* about *Paul's* affair, he said to him: *But when Paul had appealed to be reserved to the bearing, or judgement, of Augustus, I commanded him to be kept, till I might send him to Cesar.* ver. 21. And when *Festus* actually brought *Paul* before *Agrippa*, and the rest, he said: *He himself having appealed unto Augustus; I have determined to*
send

send him. ver. 25. After *Paul* had pleaded before *Festus*, and *Agrippa*, and that great companie at *Cesarea*, it is said: ch. xxvi. 31. 32. *And the King rose up, and Bernice, and they that sat with them. And when they had gone aside, they talked between themselves, saying: This man doth nothing worthie of death, or of bonds. Then said Agrippa unto Festus: This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cesar. After his appeal therefore the sending Paul to Rome was unavoidable. If Agrippa and the rest of that great companie did not dare to dismiss him, though they thought him innocent, but judged it needful, that he should go to Rome, it may be reckoned probable, that he was actually brought before the Emperour. And Festus wrote a letter concerning Paul to the Emperour himself, as may be concluded from ch. xxv. 26. 27. And while Paul was in the voyage to Rome, he had a vision. An angel stood by him, saying: Fear not, Paul, thou must be brought before Cesar. ch. xxvii. 23. 24. Certainly, therefore, he was brought before him. And that is what he intends, when he speaks of his apologie. Which is also confirmed by what follows:*

follows : *And I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion.* Whereby must be meant *Nero* himself.

And now we may be able to understand those expressions : *No man stood with me. But all men forsook me.* St. *Luke's* historie of *Paul's* arrival at *Rome* will give great light to those words. *Acts xxviii. 13. . . 15. And we came the next day to Puteoli. Where we found brethren, and were desired to tarry with them seven days. And so we went toward Rome. And from thence, when the brethren heard of us, they came to meet us, as far as Appii Forum, and the Three Taverns. Whom when Paul saw, he thanked God, and took courage.* The affectionate and respectful visit of so many *Christians* from *Rome* was very refreshing and comfortable to him, after all the fatigues of his voyage, and in the disgraceful circumstances of his appearance. But when he was presented to the Empe-
rour, *no man stood by him. But all men forsook him.* And these are the men, whom he intends : these, and other *Christians* then at *Rome*. None of them had courage to appear in his favour, and plead in his behalf, as they might have done. But all drew
back,

back, and left him alone. *Notwithstanding the Lord stood with me, and strengthened me.*

Let me now represent the progresse of this affair, as it appears to me, after having consulted (b) *Lightfoot*, and others.

When the prisoners from *Judea* were brought to *Rome*, they were all delivered to the Captain of the Guard, or Prefect of the *Praetorium*. At the same time *Julius* the Centurion, to whose charge they had been committed, and who had all along courteously

(b) "*Julius*, the Centurion, that had brought *Paul*, and the rest of the prisoners from *Judea*, had been his friend and favorer from his first setting out, and so continued, till his settling at *Rome*. . . . His accusers, that were come from *Judea*, to lay in the charge against him, [for we can hardly suppose, but that some were come :] would be urgent to get their businesse dispatched, that they might be returning to their own homes again. And so would bring him to his trial, as soon as they could. And that his trial was early this year, appears by his own words in the second epistle to *Timothie*, where he speaketh of his answer, that he had been at, and requireth *Timothie* to come to him before winter. 2 Tim. iv. 16. 21.

As he appealed to *Nero* himself, so *Nero* himself heard his cause. Philip. i. 13. 2 Tim. iv. 16. And here it was possible for *Paul* and *Seneca* to see each other. At which time all that had owned him before, withdrew themselves for fear, and dared not stand by him, or appear with him in his danger." *Lightfoot*, as before. p. 322.

ously entreated Paul, [Acts xxvii. 3.] spoke honorably of him to the Prefect, or delivered in a written memorial of his voyage, and the several prisoners, whom he had brought with him, inserting, particularly, some things in favour of this prisoner, and also put into his hands the Governour's letter to the Emperour, concerning *Paul*. The tenour of which, as may be concluded from the letter of *Lyfias* to *Felix*, ch. xxiii. 25. . . 30. and from other things afterwards recorded in the Acts, omitting the usual forms, not needful to be mentioned here, was to this purpose: " My Lord, when I came in-
" to this province, committed to my charge
" by thy favour, I found a prisoner, named
" *Paul*, left bound by my predecessor *Felix*,
" after he had been two years in custodie.
" In a short time grievous complaints were
" made against him by the chief men of the
" nation, desiring me to pass sentence of con-
" demnation upon him. Whereupon I ap-
" pointed them a hearing. And being sat
" on the judgement-seat, I commanded the
" man to be brought forth. But when the
" accusers stood up, they alleged no proofs
" of any thing that could render him crimi-
" nal

“nal in the eye of our laws. They had only
“certain questions against him of their own
“religion, and concerning one Jesus, who
“had died, and whom *Paul* affirmed to be
“alive. At this time the man expressed a
“desire to be heard at thy tribunal. And
“having conferred with my Council, and
“considering, that he is a Citizen of *Rome*,
“his appeal was allowed to be valid. Where-
“upon I resolved to send him unto thee, as
“soon as I could. In the mean time King
“*Agrippa* and *Bernice* came to the place of
“my residence. Who being Jews by nation
“and religion, and willing to hear the
“man, I set him before them, that I might
“be the better informed concerning him
“myself. In their presence, and before
“Me, and many others, Roman Officers,
“and principal men of this city, he with-
“out reserve declared his doctrine, and his
“concern to promote it, and indeed his
“whole life from the beginning. After
“which, when the assemblie, (as honorable
“as can be expected to be seen in any of the
“provinces :) were gone aside, they talked
“between themselves. And they were all
“agreed, saying : This man doth nothing
“worthie

“worthie of death, or of bonds: and he
“might have been set at liberty, if he had
“not appealed to Augustus. To thee there-
“fore I now send him. And to thy cogni-
“zance his cause is referred.”

When *Burrhus*, the Prefect of the Praetorium, brought *Paul* before the Emperour, and delivered the Governour's letter; it is not improbable, that he might add some hints in favour of the prisoner, from the character given of him by *Julius*, either by word, or in his memorial. At this audience must have been present, beside †† *Burrhus*, divers other Courtiers, of the greatest eminence and distinction, and perhaps *Seneca*. It may be likewise supposed, that some Jews delegated by the Council at *Jerusalem*, appeared, to plead against *Paul*. If there were none, it must have been understood to be a disrespect to the Emperour, and a great prejudice to the cause of the accusers. If there were any such here, it would shew the reasonableness of *Paul's* expectation,

†† *Burrhus* is computed to have died in the year of Christ 62. and *Seneca* in the year 65. *Vid. Bagn. Ann. 62. num. i. et Ann. 65. num. iv.*

that some of the Christians at *Rome* should have attended likewise.

At this time, (unless there was another audience soon after,) the Emperour pronounced sentence upon *Paul*, and signed the order of his confinement : such as is related by St. *Luke*. Acts xxviii. 16. 30. 31. And though *Paul* was not acquitted, nor set at liberty, it may be esteemed a favorable decision.

It was after this audience of the Emperour, and this sentence, that *Paul* sent for the Jews at *Rome*, to come to him. But when he laid before them his case, and spoke of the proceedings against him in *Judea*, and of his appeal to Cesar ; they were very humble, and even low-spirited, and did not choose to enter into discourse upon the matter.

Paul says : Acts xxviii. 19. *But when the Jews spake against it, I was constrained to appeal to Cesar : not that I had ought to accuse my nation of.* These last words may be understood by some, as if he had said : “ Not that I have any cause of complaint against my nation.” Which would be great complaisance indeed, after he had received so much hard usage from the Jews. But the words

words may be thus rendred : “ Not that I
 “ have a design to accuse my nation of any
 “ thing.” And in that manner they are ren-
 dred by (i) *Le-Clerc*, and (k) *Lenfant*, in
 their French translations. And it is agree-
 able to (l) *Beza*’s annotation upon the place,
 who is another good judge. This sense is
 very becoming *Paul*, and was very suitable
 to his circumstance and situation at that
 time. It was very proper to pacify the
 Jews at *Rome*, who might have been ap-
 prehensive of *Paul*’s making use of his in-
 terest in the Emperour’s Court against them,
 after he had been so ill used in *Judea*. But
 all he aimed at was the vindication of his
 own innocence, that he might with greater
 liberty preach the gospel.

Here we see the ground of the difference
 between *Paul*’s imprisonment in *Judea*, and
 at *Rome*. The difference is manifest. Whilst

S 2

in

(i) Mais les Juifs s’y opposant, j’ai été contraint d’en
 appeller à Cesar : sans que j’aye néanmoins dessein d’accuser
 ma nation, en quoi que se soit. *Cl.*

(k) . . . sans que j’aye dessein néanmoins d’accuser ma na-
 tion, en quoi que ce soit. *Lenf.*

(l) Est autem hoc additum a Paulo, ne putarent Judaei
 ipsum constituisse criminari gentem suam apud Caesarem :
 cum hoc unum potius ageret, ut nullo hostium incommodo
 causam Christi et innocentiam suam tueretur. *Bez.*

in *Judea*, it does not appear, that he had any communication with other churches out of it. He is wholly engaged in his own defense, and does but just secure his life against the violence of the unbelieving Jews, and their Council. But when he came to *Rome*, and his apologie was over, he was permitted to live by himself, in his own hired house. There he receives intelligence by messengers of the churches, who come to him from divers parts. He makes converts, and writes letters, and has fellow-laborers, whom he sends abroad, as he pleaseth. We now see the ground of this. As (*m*) *Jerome* says, "the Apostle being sent to prison by the Emperour, he becomes acquainted with the Emperour's familie, and makes the persecutor's house a church." Referring to Philip. iv. 22. - When *Paul* was in *Judea*, he was the Governour's prisoner, whose good-will was restrained by the influence of the people of the countrey. Now he is the Emperour's prisoner, who allows what liberty he pleaseth. And when granted, none dare

(*m*) A Caesare missus in carcerem, notior familiae ejus factus, persecutoris domum Christi fecit ecclesiam. *In ep. ad Philem. T. 4. p. 445. in.*

dare to controll, or abridge it in any measure. Hence all the advantages of this imprisonment, and the happy conclusion of it. Having so much liberty, and being able to receive all who came to him, he makes many converts, and many friends, some in the Emperour's own familie, and near his person. Says the Apostle in this very epistle iv. 16. 17. *At my first answer no man stood with me. . . . Notwithstanding the Lord stood with me, and strengthened me, that by me the preaching might be fully known, and all the Gentils might hear.* It is a case much resembling that of our Apostle before, at Corinth. Acts xviii. 9. . . 11. *Then spake the Lord unto Paul in the night, by a vision : Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace. For I am with thee, and no man shall set on thee, to hurt thee. For I have much people in this city. And he continued there a year and six months, teaching the word of God among them.* And though he was brought before Gallio the Governour, and accused ; he was acquitted, and continued there yet a good while. In like manner here, *the Lord stood by Paul, strengthened him, and delivered him.* And he afterwards dwelt two whole years at Rome, preaching the kingdom of God,

and teaching those things, which concern the Lord Jesus, no man forbidding him. Acts xxviii. 30. 31.

Some may say, that during this space several of the Apostle's friends and fellow-laborers were apprehended, and imprisoned. Which seems inconsistent with the supposition of his being committed by the Emperor, with an order for allowing him all the liberty, which he enjoyed. For *Aristarchus* is spoken of as his *fellow-prisoner*. Col. iv. 10. and *Epaphras*. Philem. ver. 23. And *Timothie* is said to *have been set at liberty*. Hebr. xiii. 23. Who therefore must have been confined.

To which I answer, that these imprisonments of some of *Paul's* friends and fellow-laborers do not at all weaken our supposition, but confirm it : forasmuch as *Paul's* liberty was not abridged, but continued the same all along, untill he was quite enlarged. Which affords reason to think, that the method of his confinement was appointed, and ordered by an authority above controulle. And it is easie to conceive, how it came to pass, that some of *Paul's* friends were imprisoned ; when it is considred, that he must have had many enemies, and some of
his

his friends acted imprudently, and there were others, who from envie and ill-will were prompted to behave irregularly, with a view of bringing him and his best friends into danger, by exposing them to general resentment, and especially the resentment of men in power. As we learn from Philip. i. 15. . . 17. And yet it does not appear, that any of *Paul's* fellow-laborers endured a long imprisonment. It is not unlikely, that they were taken up, and imprisoned by some inferior officers, to gratify the furie of the common people, who did not dare to keep them long in custodie, nothing material appearing against them. As *Jerome* (*n*) observes, such frequent short imprisonments and speedy releases were common at

S 4

the

(*n*) Quod autem crebro Paulus in carcere fuerit, et de vinculis liberatus sit, ipse in alio loco dicit: *in carceribus frequenter*: de quibus nonnunquam Domini auxilio, crebro ipsis persecutoribus nihil dignum in eo morte invenientibus dimittebatur. Necdum enim super nomine Christiano senatus consulta praecefferant: necdum Christianum sanguinem *Neronis* gladius dedicarat. Sed pro novitate praedicationis, sive a Judaeis invidentibus, sive ab his qui sua videbant idola destrui, ad furorem populis concitatis, missi in carcerem, rursus impetu et furore deposito, laxabantur. . . . id agente Domino, ut in toto orbe nova praedicatio disseminaretur. *In Philem. ver. 22. T. 4. p. 453.*

the first rise of the Christian Religion, before *Nero* became an open persecutor, and before the publication of such edicts, as affected the lives of the followers of Jesus.

All these considerations cannot but be of great weight, to determine the time of this epistle. However, there are some difficulties, that ought to be taken notice of.

1. Obj. *For I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand,* 2 Tim. iv. 6,

These expressions led (o) *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, and (p) *Jerome*, who followed him, and (q) *Chrysostom*, though he did not follow either, to say, that this was the last epistle of *St. Paul*, writ only a small space of time, before his martyrdom. And many learned moderns have been of the same opinion, as is well known.

But let us attend to *Lightfoot*. “There
 “ (r) is one passage, says he, in this epistle,
 “ which has caused some to doubt about the
 “ time of it's writing. That is what he says
 “ iv. 6. *I am now ready to be offered up, and*
 “ the

(o) *H. E. l. 2. cap. 22.*

(p) *Quoted Vol. x. p. 111. from De V. I. cap. v.*

(q) *Quoted likewise, before, Vol. x. p. 232. 233,*

(r) *Vol. i. p. 221.*

“ *the time of my departure is at hand.* Which
“ would make one think, that he was now
“ ready to be martyred, and taken away.
“ And it has made some believe, this was
“ the last epistle that ever he wrote. But
“ when we compare his own words again
“ ver. 17. 18. and Philip. i. 25. and Philem.
“ ver. 22. it maketh past controversie, that
“ he speaketh not of his sudden martyrdom,
“ but that he is to be understood in some
“ other sense. . . . And indeed the resolution
“ of the difficulty lies open and conspicu-
“ ous in the very text itself. *Paul* looked
“ upon *Timothie*, as the prime and choice
“ man, that was to succeed him in the work
“ of the gospel, when he himself should be
“ dead and gone : as being a young man,
“ not only of singular qualifications for
“ that work, but of whom there had been
“ special prophecies to such a purpose. 1
“ Tim. i. 18. He exhorts him therefore
“ in this place, to emprove all his pains and
“ parts to the utmost, *to do the work of an*
“ *Evangelist, to make full proof of his minis-*
“ *trie :* ch. iv. 5. for that himself could
“ not last long, being now grown old, and
“ worn out with travail, and beside all that,
“ in bonds at present, and so in continual
“ danger.

“ danger. Therefore must *Timothie* be fitting himself daily to take his work, when he is gone.”

So *Lightfoot*, and, as seems to me, very properly. To the like purpose *Esius* upon the same text. Whom (s) I transcribe below.

I likewise place below (t) a part of *Baronius's*

(s) Quare quae hic ab Apostolo dicuntur non ita sunt accipienda, quasi plane sentiat sese jam jam rapiendum ad martyrium: praesertim cum alia quaedam ejusdem epistolae repugnent huic intellectui. . . . Sed tantum significant, ipsum, etsi de tempore mortis et passionis incertum, tamen per carceres et tribunalia parari ad victimam. . . . Quocirca non apparet haec a Paulo dicta fuisse per revelationem aliquam de instante martyrio sibi factam. . . . Illud etiam considerandum est, Paulum loqui, ut jam senem, et laboribus confectum, qui proinde non multum vitae tempus sibi reliquum arbitretur. Ac quoniam non dubitat, se martyrio finiendum, idcirco, et de eo tanquam brevi futuro loquitur: *Ego enim*, inquit, *jam delibor*. . . . Sensus et connexio est: Idcirco, cum tam seria obtestatione te discipulum meum officii tui admoneo, quod jam senex sim, et incertus quamdiu futurus superstes. Jam enim tanquam victima Christo destinata, per hos carceres, et gravissimos quos patior adversariorum impetus immolari incipio. *Est. ad 2 Tim. iv. 6.*

(t) . . . eo enim sensu haec putant accipienda esse verba, quasi proxime esset Paulus martyrio coronandus, sicque ab eo spiritu prophetico esse pronunciata. . . . Sed dicant velim: Nonne idem ipse Paulus in eadem testatur epistola, sibi Dominum apparuisse, dum in summo illo discrimine versaretur,

ronius's solution of the same difficulty, which appears to me very sufficient.

That *Paul* had now no certain and prophetic view of suffering martyrdom immediately, is apparent from several things in this epistle: particularly, from his desiring *Timothie* to come to him, and to bring *Mark* with him, as *profitable to him for the ministration*. He supposed therefore, that he should have an opportunity to employ him in the service of the gospel. He likewise must have hoped to receive, and use the things left at *Troas*, which he desired *Timothie* to bring to him.

Obj. 2. *St. Paul* says ch. iv. 18. *And the Lord shall deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve me unto his heavenly kingdom*. By which many have supposed, that the Apostle does not express any hope of being now delivered from death, or the present danger, or any other temporal evil, but from sin, and from all unworthie conduct

retur, hortatumque esse, ac fore praedixisse, ut per ipsum in omnes Gentes praedicatio impleretur? Quomodo igitur haec sibi cohaerent, ut instans Pauli consummatio esset, idemque ipse sic a periculo liberandus, in omnes Gentes praedicationem evangelii propagaturus esset? *Et reliqua. Ann. 59. n. xiii.*
xiv.

duct of his own. So say (u) *Le Clerc* and (x) *Whitby*. *Paul had been delivered out of the mouth of the lion.* But he did not now expect any such deliverance. He only hoped to be preserved from sin, and to be brought to God's heavenly kingdom.

But I do not think, that to be St. Paul's meaning. It is inconsistent with what he had just said: that *the Lord had stood by him, and strengthened him, that by him the preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentils might hear.* Which could not be done presently. But must require some time. To me it clearly appears, that the Apostle's words express faith in God, and hope of the divine protection in future difficulties and dangers: or, that God would still deliver him, and uphold him in his service, against all the designs of evil men.

And

(u) Non de la mort, mais des mauvaises actions, qu'il auroit fallu que S. Paul fit pour l'éviter. *Clerc.*

(x) Dr. *Whitby's* note upon ver. 18. is. "If he will deliver him, as *Chrysostom* says, why does he say, *I am offered?* Observe therefore his words. He says not, he will again deliver me out of the power of the lion: but only, that he will preserve me from every evil work, and to his heavenly kingdom. The place of *Chrysostom*, which I suppose to be here referred to, may be seen: on 2. ad *Tim.* cap. iv. hom. x. Tom. xi. p. 722. *Ed. Bened.*

And when he had done the work, still remaining for him to do, and fulfilled his testimonie to the gospel, he should be *brought safe to God's heavenly kingdom.* Accordingly, he was preserved for some good while after this, enjoying, so far as we know, as much freedom in preaching the gospel, as ever he did, till a period was put to his life by martyrdom. As before observed, what the Apostle says here at ch. iv. 16. . . 18. much resembles what is said Acts xviii. 9. . . 17. And the Apostle's circumstances at *Corinth* and *Rome* were much alike.

3. Obj. Once more, it may be said, the state of things shews, this epistle to have been writ many years after the first epistle to *Timothie*, and when *Paul* was near his death. For he says here ch. i. 15. *This thou knowest, that all they which are in Asia be turned away from me. Of whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes.* Which implies, that great corruptions now prevailed in *Asia*, particularly, in the church of *Ephesus*.

To which I answer: that if the *Asiatics*, here spoken of, were now at *Rome*, or had been lately there; we are not hereby led to think disadvantageously of the Christians at *Ephesus*, and in *Asia*, in general. That
such

such are the persons here intended, has been the opinion of many, and is very probable. It was formerly observed, that (y) *Chrysostom* hereby understood such as were at *Rome*. *Estius*, upon the place, says, this (z) was the general opinion of the Greek writers. And indeed it is in (a) *Oecumenius*, who expressly says, that *they which are in Asia* is the same, as *they which are of Asia*. To the like purpose *Theophylact*: "They (b) in *Asia* are such of *Asia* as were then at *Rome*." *Dr. Hammond's* paraphrase is to this purpose: "Thou (c) hast heard, I believe, that in my affliction, I have been deserted by all the *Asiatic* Christians at *Rome*, excepting only *Onesiphorus*." So that this interpretation is confirmed by the connexion, it following immediatly afterwards:

(y) *Ch.* 118. *Vol.* x. p. 358.

(z) Porro secundum Graecorum expositionem, non est sermo de iis, qui Paulo haec scribente in Asia erant, sed qui ex Asia Romam venerant. *Est. in loc.*

(a) 'Οι ἐν τῇ ἀσίᾳ τῷ ἐκ τῆς ἀσίας' *Oecum. in loc.* *T.* 2. p. 261.

(b) Κατέλιπον αὐτὸν οἱ πάντες ἐν τῇ ἀσίᾳ, τῷ ἐκ τῆς ἀσίας ἐνδεμέντε; τῇ ρώμῃ. *Theoph.* *T.* 2. p. 806.

(c) Audivisti, ut opinor, ab Asiaticis Christianis, qui erant Romae, excepto solo Onesiphoro, me desertum fuisse, in mea calamitate. *Hammond. in loc. ex versione Clerici.*

wards: *The Lord give mercie to the house of Onesiphorus. For he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain. But when he was at Rome, he sought me out very diligently, and found me.* Rightly does *Hammond* say, that *Timothie* had heard of this. It was likely, that before this letter came to *Timothie's* hands, he might have heard in general, how the Christians at *Rome*, particularly those of *Asia*, had carried it toward his great master, now in bonds. But it seems by the Apostle's way of speaking, that he thought he gave *Timothie* some farther information, especially, when he added: *Of whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes.* *Beausobre* was for the late date of this epistle. Nevertheless he supposeth (d) the Apostle to speak of some *Asiatics*, who had been with him at *Rome*, but were returned to their own countrey. Mr. *Mosheim* (e) speaks largely to this place.

He

(d) Il y a de l'apparence, que quelques Asiatiques, qui avoient suivi S. Paul à Rome, l'avoient abandonné, et s'en étoient retournez dans leur país. *Beauf. upon the place.*

(e) Discesserant hi sine dubio, et in patriam reverterant, quod, Paulo Romae in vincula coniecto, vitae suae metuebant, desperabantque, fore aliquando, ut is libertati restitutus itinera, quae meditabatur, persequeretur. In hoc vitii est aliquid: fratrem enim, et multo magis Dei legatum, cui praesidio

He understands hereby some *Asiatics*, who had left *Paul*, and were gone home. He thinks, they were guilty of unkindness, and are chargeable with inconstancy: but he does not suppose, that they forsook the Apostle's doctrine, or endeavored to make innovations.

There is no ground therefore to suppose, that *Paul* here speaks of a general corruption, and defection of the Christians in *Asia*.

I know not of any other objections, that deserve consideration. From what has been argued therefore I conclude, that this epistle to *Timothie* was writ at *Rome*, when *Paul* was sent thither by *Festus*, in the year 61.

For determining the time of the year we may receive assistance, not only from those who are for this early date, but from those likewise, who are for a later date of this epistle.

From

praefidio et solatio esse possis, in vitae discrimine positum, relinquere, animi levis est, et Christianae disciplinae immemor. Verum nihil habet haec inconstantia, ex quo intelligi possit, ideo hos homines domum rediisse, ut quae ex Paulo perceperant, dogmata oppugnarent, novasque res inter Christianos molirentur. *Mossheim, De Reb. Christian. ante Constantin. Sec. i. num. lx. in notis.*

From *Paul's* desiring *Timothie* to come to him, before winter, *Tillemont* (*f*) concludes, that this epistle was writ near the midle of the year. *Wissus* thinks, it (*g*) was writ in the begining of the summer. So likewise (*b*) *Baronius*.

It seems very probable, that *Paul* came to *Rome* about the end of *Februarie*, or soon after, before *April*, or at the utmost in the begining of it. But before the writing of

(*f*) Il y prie S. Timothée de le venir trouver avant l'hiver. Ainsi ce ne pouvoit pas estre plustard que vers le milieu de l'année. *S. Paul* art. 49. *Mem. Tom. i.*

(*g*) Observant, jussisse hac epistola Paulum, ut festinato ad se accederet, et, si fieri posset, ante hiemem, assumpto secum Marco. Venit autem Paulus Romam, mense, ut creditur, Februariò. Pone, scriptam hanc epistolam esse ineunte aestate, potuit Timotheus cum Marco ante hiemem Romae esse: ubi fuit, quando illae scribebantur epistolae, quibus praefixum illius nomen est: quemadmodum et Marcus ibi fuit, quo tempore scribebatur illa ad Colossenses, et ad Philemonem. Quidquamne probabilius est, quam omnia ista ex mandato Pauli esse facta? *Ubi supra. sect. 12. num. v.*

(*b*) Sed et cum illud admonet, ut ante hiemem se Romam conferat: certe, si quis exacte consideret tempus, et locum ipsum, Timotheumque agentem in Asia, ut ejusmodi reddi posset epistola, et ipse Troadem ad sumendam penulam proficisceretur, ac Romam ante hiemem se conferret: plane inveniet, hoc ipso anno, ineunte aestate hanc ad Timotheum scriptam epistolam. *Baron. ann. 59. num. x.*

of this letter several things had passed. His apologie before the Emperour was over. *Onesiphorus* had made the Apostle divers visits. Several of the Apostle's assistants or fellow-laborers had been with him, since his arrival, and had taken directions from him. *Demas* was gone to *Theffalonica*, *Crescens* to *Galatia*, *Titus* to *Dalmatia*. The epistle to the *Ephesians* likewise, I suppose to have been writ before, and, if it had not been sent away, it lay ready, at least, to be carried by *Tychicus*, together with this to *Timothie*. If therefore *Paul* came to *Rome* in *March*, this letter might be sent away in *May*, or the begining of *June*. The direction, ch. iv. 21. *Do thy diligence to come before winter*, might proceed from tenderesse for *Timothie*, the Apostle himself having lately felt the inconveniences of a winter-voyage. And may also lead us to think, there would be need of *Timothie's* making dispatch, after the receipt of this letter, least he should be overtaken by bad weather.

In dating this epistle at the time I have done, I have followed (i) *Lightfoot*, (k) *Baronius*,

(i) *Harmonie of the N. T. in his Works*, Vol. i. p. 324.

(k) *Annal.* 59. num. x.

ronius, (l) *Estius*, (m) *Hammond*, (n) *Witſius*. Who have all well aſſerted this date. *Witſius*, the laſt mentioned, has an argument upon the point, which he has all along conducted with great candour, and concluded (o) with much modeſtie: though to me he ſeems to have removed every difficulty in a very ſatisfactorie manner. And he ſpeaks of *Salmero*, as being of the ſame opinion. And beſides, in the courſe of the argument cites from *Cocceius*, and *Solomon Van Till*, (with whoſe writings I am but little acquainted,) divers obſervations, confirming the ſame opinion. *Cave* likewise was of this opinion, when he wrote the Lives of the Apoſtles, and the firſt volume of the Lives of the primitive Fathers, in Engliſh: expreſſing himſelf very clearly, and properly,

T 2

(l) *Praef. in 2. ad Timoth.*

(m) *Praef. in 2. ep. ad Timoth.*

(n) *De Vita et Rebus Pauli Apoſt. ſect. xii. apud Meletem. Leyd. p. 182. &c.*

(o) *Mea ſi deſideretur ἐπίκρισις fateor equidem aliquamdiu me in rationum conflictu animi ancipitem haefiſſe, quae quibus anteponendae ſint. Omnibus tamen perpenſis, non diſſimulo, eo me magis propendere, ut ſcriptionem hujus epiſtolae ad priora Pauli apud Romam vincula referendam eſſe arbitrer. lb. ſect. 12. num. viii.*

perly, both in (*p*) the Life of *Paul*, and (*q*) the Life of *Timothie*. But when he wrote his *Historia Literaria*, he speaks in the article of *St. Paul*, as (*r*) if he had quite changed his mind: though in the article of *St. Peter*, as it still stands in the new edition at *Oxford*, he (*s*) speaks exactly, as he had done before.

If

(*p*) "It is not improbable, but that about this time *St. Paul* wrote his second epistle to *Timothie*. I know, that *Eusebius*, and the ancients, and most moderns after them, will have it written a little before his martyrdom, induced there-to by that passage in it, that he was *then ready to be offered, and the time of his departure was at hand*. But, surely, it is most reasonable to think, that it was written at his first being at *Rome*, and that at his first coming there, presently after his trial before *Nero*. In it he appoints *Timothie* shortly to come to him, who accordingly came, and his name is joyned together with the Apostle's, in the front of several epistles, to the *Philippians*, *Colossians*, and *Philemon*." *Carve's Life of St. Paul. sect. 7. num. v. p. 103. 104.*

(*q*) *Life of Timothie. num. vii.*

(*r*) *Epistolam secundam ad Timotheum scriptam esse Romae, in prima Pauli captivitate contendit cl. Hammondus. Sed errat omnino vir eruditissimus. Quisquis enim totius epistolae contextum, omnesque hujus temporis circumstantias serio perpenderit, quin scripta sit anno 64. paullo ante Apostoli martyrium, dubitare nequit. De S. Paulo. Hist. Lit. Tom. i. p. 12.*

(*s*) *Durante biennali captivitate Paulus inde scripsit quatuor vel quinque epistolas, ad Colossenses, Ephesios, Philippenses, et Philemonem, in quibus nullae notae, nullae indicia,*
unde

If he altered his mind, I suppose, it must have been in compliance with *Pearson*, who of late has been followed in this particular by many: who, if they had carefully read the above named authors, might easily have discerned the superiority of their arguments.

To him (*t*) likewise I suppose, it must be chiefly ascribed, that by the Apostle's *first answer*, or apologie, many of late have understood an apologie made in a second imprisonment at *Rome*. Which, as (*u*) before shewn, is contrarie to the general opinion of ancient Christian writers. And indeed appears to me a (*x*) very unlikely

T 3

meaning.

unde vel divinando quis assequi posset, Romae Petrum tunc fuisse. . . . In posteriori ad Timotheum, quam hoc etiam tempore scriptam esse, maxime est probabile. . . . Carcere Romano liberatus, dum adhuc in Italia haereret, scripsit epistolam ad Hebraeos. *De Petro. H. L. p. 9.*

(*t*) Paulus Romae [A. D. lxvii.] e carcere in discrimen vitae vocatur ab altero Nerone, et apologiam habet, sive *defensionem suam*, vel *sui*, quod in prioribus vinculis factum non est: ubi habuit tantum *defensionem et confirmationem evangelii*, adversus Judaeos scilicet. *Annal. Paulin. p. 24.*

(*u*) See before. p. 244. . . . 253.

(*x*) Eusebe, S. Jerome, S. Chrysostome en quelques endroits, et Theodoret, ont entendu ceste premiere defense de son premier voiage. S. Chrysostome s'en eloigne en d'autres endroits, et l'entend d'une premiere comparition de S. Paul devant

meaning. And to him I suppose it to be entirely owing, that (y) *Paul's* lion, whom (z) all Christians in general had hitherto understood to be the Emperour *Nero*, has on a sudden dwindled into (a) *Elius*, or *Helius*,

devant Neron dans son dernier voyage. Mais l'autre sentiment est plus autorisé, et fondé sur le sens le plus naturel du texte. &c. *Du Pin Diff. Prelim. P. 2. l. 2. ch. 2. §. viii. p. 53.*

(y) In qua defensione tantum erat, et Pauli, et suorum periculum, ut omnes sui eum deferrent, et nemo illi adesset, 2 Tim. iv. 16. 17. Sed ereptus est ex ore leonis, nempe Helii Caesareani. *Ann. Paulin. ibid.*

(z) I refer to the collections of *Grotius* upon 2 Tim. iv. 17. whereby it appears to have been common to give such denominations to bad Princes, not to their officers. And I shall transcribe here a curious passage, to which he only refers, shewing, that *Nero*, for his bad temper, was early called a lion. Adde haec Scholiastis, in *Juvenalis Sat. v.* Seneca sub Claudio, quasi conscius adulteriorum Juliae, Germanici filiae, in *Corficam* relegatus, post triennium revocatus est. Qui etsi magno desiderio *Athenas* intenderet, ab *Agrippina* tamen, erudiendo *Neroni*, in palatium adductus, saevum immanemque natum et sensit cito, et mitigavit, inter familiares solitus dicere: non fore saevo illi leoni, quin, gustato semel hominis sanguine, ingenita redeat saevitia. *Lipsius in notis ad Tacit. Ann. l. 12. cap. 9.*

(a) Nobis sane non probatur conjectura doctissimi *Pearson*, qui communis sententiae pertaesus, *Helium* *Cesareanum* designatum fuisse existimat in *Annalibus Paulinis*. *Neronis* potius et furor et dignitas, apta eâ metaphorâ significatur: quomodo defuncto *Tiberio* *Marcius Agrippae* libertus dixit domino suo: Mortuus est Leo. *Basnag. ann. 64. n. vi.*

Helius, the Emperour's freed-man and favourite.

Upon the whole, it appears to me very probable, that this second epistle to *Timothie* was writ at *Rome*, when *Paul* was sent thither by *Festus*. And I cannot but think, that this ought to be an allowed, and determined point. Accordingly, I now proceed to mention some observations in the way of corollaries.

1. This second epistle to *Timothie* affords not any argument, that *Peter* was not at *Rome*, when *Paul* came thither a second time, and suffered martyrdom.

Upon these words ch. iv. 16. *At my first answer no man stood with me, but all forsook me.* *Beza* says: "Where (b) was *Peter* " then if he was at *Rome*? Did he desert " *Paul* in the time of his difficulty?" But the good man adds: "That *Paul*'s general " expressions need not to be understood absolutely, without any exception." That is very charitable, and benevolent. But in-

T 4

deed,

(b) Ubi tum *Petrus*, si *Romae* erat? Num enim quaeso *Paulum* deseruisset? Sed quod in genere dicitur, etsi non temere sic loquitur *Paulus*, ita tamen accipiendus est, ut aliqui excipi potuerint, sed perpauci. *Bez. in loc.*

deed, if *Peter* had then been at *Rome*, he could not have afforded any assistance to his brother Apostle. Nor would *Paul* have expected it of him. For *Peter* was himself an obnoxious person. *Paul* (c) refers only to such, as by their station were likely to be of some use to him, if they had appeared with him, and had exerted themselves in his behalf.

But though *Peter's* not appearing upon that occasion affords not any argument, that he was not then at *Rome*: the entire silence concerning him throughout this epistle affords good reason to think, he was not then at *Rome*. For ch. iv. 2. *Paul* sends salutations from *Eubulus*, *Pudens*, *Linus*, and *Claudia*. If *Peter* had been then at *Rome*, he would have been mentioned likewise. We do justly argue from St. *Paul's* omitting *Peter* among his salutations sent to divers of the *Roman* Christians, ch. xvi. that *Peter* was not then in that city. It is also rightly argued from the silence concerning *Peter* in the epistles to the *Ephesians*, *Philippians*, *Colossians*, and *Pbilemon*,

(c) Loquitur de iis qui prodesse poterant, et qui gratiã valebant apud aulicos, . . . Potest et ita exponi: Omnes; id est, pene omnes. Est. in loc.

Philemon, that *Peter* was not at *Rome*, when they were writ. To which ought to be added this second epistle to *Timothie*, as farther confirming the same thing, if written about the same time. But then, if it was written in the year 61. as I suppose; it will not afford any argument against *Peter's* being at *Rome* in 64. or 65. and then suffering martyrdom there. About which there ought not to be any doubt. That *Peter* suffered martyrdom at *Rome*, is said by the same writers, that speak of the martyrdom of *Paul* there. The (*d*) martyrdoms of both the Apostles have a like degree of credibility. For neither is *Paul's* martyrdom at *Rome* founded upon the testimony of any sacred book of the New Testament. If this second epistle to *Timothie* was writ at the time here argued for, we have no proof from scripture, that *Paul* was a second time at *Rome*. Nevertheless,

(*d*) Denique si mentitur traditio de loco Petrini martyrii atque sepulchro, quo nobis indicio liquebit Paulum Romae interfectum fuisse atque conditum? Unum nobis est argumentum fama constans, in quo etiam fundamento collocatur quae per animos invasit, de Petri in urbem et adventu et morte, immota explorataque Veterum sententia. *Bajmag. Ann. 64. num. x.*

theless, he must have been there a second time, if he suffered martyrdom there, as ecclesiastical historie says. Consequently, the martyrdom of *Paul* at *Rome* has no other, nor better evidence, than the martyrdom of *Peter* in the same city.

2. We cannot conclude from this second epistle to *Timothie*, that St. *Luke* was qualified to write the historie of the Apostle *Paul*, for the space of several years lower than he has done in the book of the Acts.

Whitby says upon ver. 11. of the iv. chapter of this epistle : " Hence it appears, " that *Luke* must be alive in the 12. or 13. " year of *Nero*, when this epistle was en- " dited." St. *Luke* might be then alive. But this epistle, if writ in the 7. or 8. of *Nero*, affords not any proof, that *Luke* lived to the 12. or 13. of *Nero*, or that he was then with *Paul*. And it may be reckoned probable, that St. *Luke* did not accompany the Apostle after his release from his imprisonment at *Rome*.

Again, says *Wall* upon Acts xxviii. 30. 31. " St. *Luke* wrote this book about the " year 63. . . . It is a wonder, that he did " not add the historie of the rest of his life, " whither he went, when he was set free, " and

“ and what he did in the five years afterwards. One might have guessed, that
“ *Luke* died about this time. But it was
“ not so. He was with *Paul* a little before
“ *Paul* died. As appears from 2 *Tim.*
“ iv. 11.” But, that St. *Luke* was alive,
and with *Paul* in the year 67. or 68. cannot be inferred from this epistle, if it was writ in the year 61.

3. We are now able to vindicate the character of *Demas*.

Says *Wall* upon 2 *Tim.* iv. 10. “ At the
“ former imprisonment, five years ago, *Demas*
“ was one of *Paul*’s fellow-laborers. As
“ we learn from *Philem.* ver. 24.” But that
remark will appear preposterous, if the second epistle to *Timothie* was writ before that to *Philemon*, as I think it was.

Upon our order of the epistles the case will stand thus. Some time after *Paul*’s coming from *Judea* to *Rome*, upon the appearance of some unexpected difficulties, *Demas*, who had come to *Rome* to meet *Paul*, was discouraged. He did not apostatize from the Christian Religion. But out of too great regard for his own safety, he absented himself from the Apostle, and went where *Paul* had rather he should not
have

have gone. This is what St. *Paul* intends, when writing to *Timotbie*, he here says : *Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world, and is departed unto Thessalonica.* ch. iv. 10. But it was not very long, before he returned. Accordingly, *Paul* makes honorable mention of him, Col. iv. 14. and Philem. 24. epistles, writ near the end of his confinement at *Rome*.

How disagreeable, to think, that a fellow-laborer of *Paul*, who had attended him in his bonds, near the end of a two years imprisonment at *Rome*, should afterwards forsake him ! According to our account, his fault, whatever it might be, was first, and his repentance last : and so sincere and compleat, that *Paul* readily accepted of it, and joins him with his best friends in the salutations sent to *Colosse*, and *Philemon*. And, perhaps, *Demas* had been very useful at *Thessalonica*, though the Apostle did not send him thither.

Grotius upon 2 Tim. iv. 10. says : “ We (e) conclude from Philem. ver. 24. and Col.

(e) Vide hic etiam bonos interdum metu aut malis exemplis mutari. Quare qui stat, videat ne cadat. Sed et culpae hujus poenituisse Demam colligimus ex loco Philem. 24. et Coloss. iv. 14. Grot. ad 2 Tim. iv.

Col. iv. 14. that *Demas* repented of his fault." But that is inconsistent with the late date of the second epistle to *Timothie*. For if those texts prove *Demas*'s repentance, the second to *Timothie* must have been writ before those two epistles: as (f) *Beza* perceived, when he allowed the repentance of *Demas*.

4. *Cave*'s (g) argument for the time of *St. Mark*'s writing his Gospel, built upon the supposition, that this second epistle to *Timothie*, in which that Evangelist is mentioned, was writ just before *St. Paul*'s martyrdom, is of no value.

5. This second epistle to *Timothie* affords not any argument against the supposition, that the epistle to the *Hebrews* was writ by *St. Paul* in the year 63. about the time of his

(f) Videtur ille postea resipiscens ad Paulum revertisse, cum fiat ejus mentio in epistola ad Philemonem, quam probabile est post hanc scriptam fuisse, cum in ea fiat mentio Timothei ipsius in inscriptione, atque etiam Marci, quasi jam cum Paulo versantis. *Bez. ad 2 Tim. iv. 10.*

(g) Factum id circa annum 65. Petro et Paulo jam morte sublati. Cum enim illum epistola secunda ad Timotheum non longe ante martyrium scripta Romam accersiverat Paulus: probabile est, Marcum vel eodem, vel saltem sequenti anno illuc venisse, ibique Evangelium vel primum condidisse, vel prius conditum edidisse. *H. L. T. i. p. 24. in Marco.*

his being released from his confinement at Rome.

Le Clerc in his French edition of the New Testament, in his notes upon Hebr. xiii. 23. says : “ Nothing (*b*) of that kind happened “ to *Timothie*, during the life of *St. Paul*. “ If it had, he would not have failed to “ take notice of it in his second epistle to “ him, writ a very short time before his “ death. And he would have thence taken “ occasion to say something to *Timothie*, by “ way of commendation, and encourage- “ ment, or otherwise. If then *Timothie* “ was not imprisoned, during *Paul's* life ; “ the mention of these his bonds, and his “ release, proves this epistle to the *Hebrews* “ not to have been written, till after *Paul's* “ death.” *Le Clerc* speaks also to the like purpose in his (*i*) Ecclesiastical Historie.

And

(*b*) Il n'étoit rien arrivé de semblable à Timothée, pendant la vie de S. Paul, qui lui écrivit sa 2^e epître tres peu de tems avant que de mourir, et qui n'auroit pas manqué d'en parler en quelque occasion. &c. *Notes sur Hebr. xiii. 23.*

(*i*) Mentio fit Timothei in vincula coniecti et dimissi. cap. xiii. 23. Quod non contigerat ante posteriorem ad Timotheum, ubi nulla ejus rei, uti nec in priore, vel minima mentio. Quam tamen Paulus non praetermisisset, si quid simile contigisset, cum ad laudem Timothei, et constantiam in

And some before *Le Clerc* must have been affected with this difficulty. As may be concluded from *Beza's* notes upon Hebr. xiii. 23.

To which I answer, *first*, that the original word, rendred by us, *set at liberty*, may signify (*k*) *sent abroad on an errand*. But upon that I do not now insist, and therefore say, *Secondly*, the epistle to the *Hebrews* is now generally supposed to have been writ by *Paul* in the year 63. soon after his release from his imprisonment at *Rome*. And we know, from the epistles to the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*, that *Timothie* was with *Paul* at that time, when his imprisonment was near the period. It is not at all improbable, that *Timothie* might be imprisoned, and soon set at liberty again : as divers of *Paul's* fellow-laborers were. But it is unreasonable to expect, that any notice should be taken of these things, in either of the epistles to *Timothie* : one of which was writ before *Paul's* first imprisonment,

as

in eo augendam, multum faceret. Itaque in vincula, post conscriptas demum ad eum epistolas, aut etiam post mortem Pauli, conjectus fuerit. *H. E. A. D.* 69. p. 459.

(*k*) *Vid. Mill. Prolegom. num. 68. 69.*

as it is called : and the other soon after the begining of it.

6. There can be no ground from this epistle to conclude a second imprisonment of *Paul at Rome*. For it was writ in the time of his imprisonment in that city, when he had been sent thither from *Judea* by *Festus*.

7. There may be many other things said upon a supposition, that this epistle was writ in a second imprisonment of *Paul at Rome*, in the year 67. or thereabout. All which must now fall to the ground.

It is often said, that errour is endless. And it is certain, that one errour is productive of another. This in particular is so. It has occasioned forced and wrong interpretations of divers texts of this epistle, and many false and groundless suppositions, contrarie to the truth of historie. I shall take notice of but one more, beside those, which have been already mentioned. *Tillemont* in his historie of St. *Paul's* affairs, in the year 65. some while after he had been set at liberty from his captivity at *Rome*, says : " It (1) was, " perhaps, at this time, that he suffered at " *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, at *Iconium*, and *Lysra*,
" the

(1) St. Paul. art. 47. Mem. Ec. T. i.

“ the afflictions, which he mentions in general, in his second epistle to *Timothie.* ch. “ iii. 11.” Which to me appears very absurd, and I had almost said, ridiculous.

I shall now mention one observation more, of a different kind.

8. We have no reason upon the whole, to regret St. *Paul's* imprisonment at *Rome*.

When we read the opinion of that great companie, which had heard *Paul's* pleading at *Cesarea*. Acts xxvi. 31. *This man doth nothing worthie of death, or of bonds :* and what *Agrippa* said to *Festus*, in the next verse. *This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed to Cesar :* we may be disposed to wish, that appeal had not been made, thinking, that in that case he might now have been set at liberty. But if we consider things maturely, we shall perceive it to have been necessarie. It was, indeed, prudently made, being the only probable means of his escape from the continued persecutions of the enraged Jews.

But beside that, there are very many advantages attending it. Which ought to reconcile us to it, and induce us to acknowledge the overruling Providence of God in it. Without that appeal *Paul* would not

have been mentioned to *Agrippa*. Nor should we have had that excellent apologie for himself, and his doctrine, which he made before *Agrippa*, and *Festus*. We should not have had the fine historie of the Apostle's voyage to *Rome*, in which are so many affecting incidents. And though he came to *Rome* as a prisoner, he had there a great deal of liberty. *Nor was the word of God bound*. As he was able to say in this epistle, writ soon after his settlement at *Rome*. 2 Tim. ii. 9. And in his epistle to the *Philippians*, i. 12. . . 14. writ afterwards, are these remarkable words: *But I would, ye should understand, brethren, that the things which have happened unto me, have fallen out rather to the furtherance of the gospel. So that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace, and in all other places. And many of the brethren waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to speak the word without fear.* Says St. Luke: *Two whole years Paul dwelt in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him. Preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things, which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him.* Acts xxviii. 30. 31.

Jerome

Jerome thinks, it (*m*) was a handsome dwelling, in which was a spacious room, where *Paul* could receive a good deal of company, and display his apostolical gifts to advantage. So he beforehand wrote to *Philemon*, to prepare him a lodging. ver. 22. Not that he should want many things for his own accommodation. But he wished to have a dwelling in a frequented part of the city of *Colosse*, and large enough to admit conveniently all who were desirous to be informed concerning his doctrine.

Paul had a great desire to go to *Rome*, and

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testify

(*m*) *Simul autem et praepara mihi hospitium.* Non putò tam divitem fuisse Apostolum, et tantis sarcinis onustum, ut praeparato egeret hospitio, et non una contentus cellula, breves corporis sui spatia aedes amplissimas existimaret. . . Si autem hoc non dispensatorie, sed vere quis existimet imperatum, Apostolo magis quam Paulo hospitium praeparandum est. Venturus ad novam civitatem, praedicaturus crucifixum, et inaudita dogmata delaturus, sciebat ad se plurimos concursuros: et necesse erat, primum, ut domus in celebri esset urbis loco, ad quam facile conveniretur. Deinde ut ab omni importunitate vacua, ut ampla, quae plurimos caperet audientium: ne proxima spectaculorum locis, ne turpi vicinia detestabilis: postremo, ut in plano potius sita esset, quam in coenaculo. Quam ob causam eum existimo etiam Romae in conducto mansisse biennio. Nec parva, ut reor, erat mansio, ad quam Judaeorum turbae quotidie confluebant. *Hieron. in Philem. ver. 22. T. 4. p. 453.*

testify there the gospel of Christ. He thought, it is likely, that he should there have a good opportunity to propose it to Jews and Gentils, of inquisitive tempers, and distinguished characters. Rom. i. 9. 10.

Without ceasing making mention of you always in my prayers: making request, (if by any means now at length I might have a prosperous journey by the will of God :) to come unto you.

And ver. 14. 16. *I am debtor both to Greeks and Barbarians, to the wise and unwise. So, as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the gospel to you that are at Rome also. For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ. For it is the power of God unto salvation, . . . to the Jew first, and also to the Greek. See likewise ch. xv. 28. . . . 32.*

Well, Paul's desire was fulfilled. He was brought to Rome: and although not in the way, and in the circumstances, which himself would have chosen: yet I suppose, that in the end he had good reason to be well satisfied. Indeed, I think, that the time of his abode at Rome, must have been, upon the whole, as comfortable, and honorable, and useful, as any period of the like duration, since his conversion to the faith of Christ. He was bound, and was guarded by a soldier. But
it

it needs not to be supposed, that the chain was always upon his hand. And notwithstanding the disgraceful circumstance of his bonds, and the disadvantage of his outward appearance in some respects: such were the dignity and importance of his behaviour, such the superiority of his discourse above that of all other men, and such the works, which God enabled him to perform, as could not but secure him the regard of all serious and discerning men. And (*n*) success in his work would alleviate all his sufferings. For which reason we also ought to rejoice in them, and on account of the testimonie thereby given to the truth and innocence of the Christian doctrine.

In the introduction to the first part of this work, where our concern was with facts occasionally mentioned in the books of the New Testament, I said: *Here is withall an account of proceedings and sentences of Courts of Judicature, in cities of the first rank, and*

U 3

most

(*n*) Simul autem admirandum de magnanimitate Apostoli, et in Christum mente ferventis. Tenetur in carcere, vinculis stringitur, squalore corporis, carorum separatione, poenali-bus tenebris coarctatur: et non sentit injuriam, non dolore cruciatur, nihil novit aliud, nisi de Christi evangelio cogitare. *Hieron. in Philem. Tom. 4. p. 450. m.*

most general resort : and of some discourses made before persons, next under the Roman Emperour, of the highest rank and distinction : Referring to the historie in Acts xxiii. xxiv. xxv. xxvi. But now I should choose to say : *And of some discourses made before persons of the highest rank and distinction, not excepting the Roman Emperour himself.* For from what has been just now argued, it appears to be very probable, that *Paul*, when brought to *Rome*, pleaded once, if not twice, before *Nero*. And though those pleadings may have been very short : yet from thence, and from the treatment, which *Paul* had presently afterwards in the Imperial City, ariseth a very forcible argument for the innocence of the Christian doctrine, and its teachers.

Every one perceives, that *St. Paul's* pleadings upon the occasions before referred to, in the presence of the Jewish Council at *Jerusalem*, and before *Felix*, and *Festus*, and *Agrippa*, at *Cesarea*, do us great honour. Particularly, in this last mentioned apologie, the doctrine, which *Paul* preached, as received from heaven, was reported to those great personages, and the honourable company attending them. He lays before them
the

the historie of his life, from his youth up, before he was a Christian, and afterwards. He plainly declares his doctrine, and the zeal, with which he had spread and propagated it every where, among Jews and Gentils, and his unwearied diligence in the cause, in which he was engaged. And in the end all acknowledge, that he did nothing contrarie to the peace of society: and that he might have been set at liberty. But having appealed to the Emperour, it was now requisite, that the cause should be referred to his tribunal, and be finally determined there.

Here therefore is another testimonie to the innocence of *Paul*, and his doctrine. *Festus*, the Governour of *Judea*, certainly wrote a letter to the Emperour, giving an account of *Paul*. Of this all may be satisfied, who observe what is said. Acts xxv. 24. . . 27. So *Lyfias*, the Tribune, and commanding officer at *Jerusalem*, when he sent *Paul* to *Felix* at *Cesarea*, wrote a letter, containing an account of the prisoner, and the proceedings against him hitherto. Ch. xxiii. 25. . . 30. In like manner now acted *Festus*. Nor can it be imagined, that any Governour should presume to falsify, prevaricate,

or disguise, in such a letter. It might be very respectful to the Emperour, and favorable to the prisoner. But there could be nothing but truth. And there must have been all the truth, that was needful to give a just notion of the cause. And yet *Paul* is not condemned, but obtains an order for such a custodie, as leaves him at liberty to dwell by himself, in his own hired house, and to receive all who came to him, and to discourse to them of his doctrine. Here he was two years : during which time he had no molestation. And at length he was released. He was all that time in one place. And the place of his abode was well known. He might have been called for at any time. But there were no complaints made against him, or no such, as could induce those in power to change the order first given.

When *Paul* lay bound in the castle of *Antonia* at *Jerusalem*, after he had been brought before the Jewish Council, and his life was in imminent danger ; the night following, the Lord stood by him, and said : Be of good cheer, *Paul*. For as thou hast testified of me in *Jerusalem*, so must thou bear witness also at *Rome*. Acts xxiii. 11. Which word of our Lord was fully accomplished ;

as we are assured in the historie, which St. *Luke* has given of the Apostle's going to *Rome*, and dwelling in that city two whole years, and in the epistles, writ by himself, during that period. Which by the divine goodnesse are still preserved to us.

According to the preceding argument, the second epistle to *Timothie* was sent away from *Rome*, about the summer of the year 61. probably, in May, or June.

§. XI. *The Epistle to the Philippians.*

THERE still remain three epistles of St. *Paul* to be considered by us, which are generally allowed to have been writ during the time of his imprisonment at *Rome*: the epistles to the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*. And I shall speak of them in the order, in which they have been just named.

The epistle to the *Philippians* was writ in the second year of the Apostle's imprisonment. *Timothie*, who had come to him from *Ephesus*, according to his desire. 2. Tim. iv. 9. 21. is joyned with the Apostle in

A. D.
62.

in the inscription at the begining of the epistle. It seems to have been writ not long before the end of his two years imprisonment. For he had some hopes of a release. ch. i. 24. 25. *Nevertheless to abide in the flesh, is more needful for you. And having this confidence, I know, that I shall abide, and continue with you all, for your furtherance, and joy of faith.* Yea he expresseth hopes of making the *Philippians* a visit. ver. 26. *That your rejoicing may be more abundant in Jesus Christ for me, by my coming to you again.* And ch. ii. 19. *But I trust in the Lord Jesus, to send Timothie shortly unto you. . .* and ver. 23. 24. *Him therefore I hope to send presently, so soon as I shall see, how it will go with me. But I trust in the Lord, that I also my-self shall come shortly.* But though he had hopes of obtaining his liberty, he was not yet certain of it. As appears from those words just cited, *so soon as I shall see, how it will go with me :* and from what he says ch. ii. 17. *Yea, if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy, and rejoyce with you all.* See also ch. i. ver. 20. In the mean time, he sends back to them *Epaphroditus*, who had come to *Rome*, with a kind present from the Christians at *Philippi*,

Philippi, and who had been dangerously sick, but was now recovered. And it is likely, that by him this epistle was carried. So it follows in ver. 25. . . 30. of the second chapter. *Yet I supposed it necessarie, to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother, and companion in labour, but your messenger, and he that ministred to my wants. . . . I have sent him therefore the more carefully: that when ye see him again, ye may rejoyce.* Of their kind regard to him he speaks again. ch. iv. 10. . . . 19. In the end of the epistle he sends salutations to the *Philippians* from the brethren that were with him, and from all the saints, chiefly those of Cesar's household. Who may be supposed to be the Apostle's converts, and the persons, who chiefly contributed to his being set at liberty, and had already given him hopes of it, and may likewise have been friendly to him in other respects. And at the beginning of this epistle, ch. i. 13. speaking of the progresse of the gospel, he says: *So that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace, and in all other places.*

The salutations in this epistle are singular, being different from those at the end of the other epistles, writ about the same time. First it is said: *The brethren which are with me*

me greet you: intending, as I apprehend, *Mark*, and others, the Apostle's fellow-laborers, mentioned by name near the end of the epistles to the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*, but not so mentioned here. Then it is added. *All the saints salute you*: meaning all the Christians at *Rome* in general, chiefly, *they that are of Cesar's household*. The kind present from the *Philippians*, it is likely, had recommended them to the notice of all at *Rome*. That testimonie of respect for the Apostle was highly pleasing, and very edifying to the Christians in that city. It seems to have been a handsome sum. And it may be reckoned probable, that the collections made for the Apostle at *Rome*, and the contributions brought in from abroad, were all put into one bank, and lodged in the hands of some person, or persons of good credit, and substance. Possibly, there was now a superfluity. For St. Paul says to these *Philippians*: *I have all, and abound. I am full*. If there was any thing superfluous, beyond what was requisite for his maintenance at *Rome*, it would be of use for defraying the expenses of the journeys, which he had in view. And this may be one reason, why this epistle is inscribed to *all the saints*,

saints, which are at Philippi, with the Bishops and Deacons. For there must have been such officers in many of the churches, to which the Apostle sent letters, though they are not mentioned. But the Bishops and Deacons at *Philippi* had encouraged the contributions made for the Apostle, and had assisted in conveying them to him. And therefore they could not be omitted.

St. *Paul* came to *Rome*, as I suppose, in the spring of the year 61. *There he dwelled two whole years in his own hired house.* Acts xxviii. 30. Consequently, his captivity ended in the spring of the year 63.

Hereby I am led to think, that this epistle to the *Philippians* was writ in the year 62. It was carried by *Epaphroditus*. Some time after he was gone, I suppose, (as (o) does *Mill* likewise,) that St. *Paul* sent *Timothe* to *Philippi*, agreeably to his design, mentioned ch. ii. 19. . . 23. And when he wrote the epistle to the *Hebrews*,
in

(o) De visendis enim Philippenfibus, ubi primum e carcere evaserit, omnino cogitat. . . . Et quidem paullo post missas haece literas libertatem adeptus, Timotheum in Macedoniam misit, uti liquet ex Hebr. xiii. 23. &c. *Mill. Prol. num.* 68.

in the spring of the year 63. he was in expectation of *Timothie's* return to him. Hebr. xiii. 23. According to this computation, the epistle to the *Philippians* was writ, and sent away, in the year 62. and some while before the end of it.

§. XII. *The Epistle to the Colossians.*

A. D.
62.

THE epistles to the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*, were sent away together. *Chrysostom* as (p) formerly observed, thought, that the epistle to *Philemon* was first writ. That he concluded from Col. iv. 7. . . . 9. However, I shall first speak of the epistle to the *Colossians*, according to the order, in which the epistles lye in our volume of the New Testament.

The epistle to the *Colossians* was carried by *Tychicus* and *Onesimus*, as we perceive from ch. iv. 7. . . 9. *All my estate shall Tychicus declare unto you. . . Whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that he might know your estate, and comfort your hearts: with Onesimus, a faithfull and beloved brother,*
who

(p) See ch. 118. Vol. x. p. 332.

who is one of you. They shall make known unto you all things (which are done) here.

These two letters, as before said, were sent away at the same time. But it is likely, that the letter to *Philemon* was first delivered. For till *Onesimus* had been received by his master, he could not be a fit person, to joyn in delivering a letter to the church of *Colosse*.

Timothie joyns with the Apostle at the begining in the salutation *to the saints and faithful brethren in Christ, which are at Colosse*. Near the end of the epistle are salutations from *Aristarchus*, said by the Apostle to be his fellow prisoner, from *Mark*, *Jesus called Justus*, *Epaphras*, *Luke the beloved Physician*, and *Demas*.

It might have been expected, that this letter should be carried by *Epaphras*, who had come to the Apostle at *Rome* from *Colosse*. ch. i. 7. 8. But he was now the Apostle's fellow-prisoner, as is said, *Philem.* ver. 23. However he and *Aristarchus* may have been set at liberty about the same time with *St. Paul*. Such things were frequent in the early days of the gospel, and before *Nero* became a persecutor, according to an observation of *Jerome* in his Commentarie upon

upon the epistle to *Philemon* ver. 22. cited by us (*q*) not long ago.

As *Timothie* joyns with the Apostle in the salutation at the begining of this epistle, he was still at *Rome*, and not yet sent away to *Philippi*. I therefore conclude, that this epistle was writ about the same time with that to the *Philippians*, in the year 62. and some while before the end of it.

§. XIII. *The Epistle to Philemon.*

A. D.
62.

PHILEMON was a citizen of *Colosse*, in *Pbrygia*. *Paul* (*r*) writes this epistle to him in behalf of *Onesimus*, a slave, who had robbed his master, and run away. Him *Paul* had converted to the Christian faith at *Rome*, during his bonds, which are several times mentioned in this epistle.

Timothie

(*q*) See before, p. 263.

(*r*) Totum autem, pro quo rogat, illud est: Onesimus, servus Philemonis, fugam furto cumulans, quaedam rei domesticae compilarat. Hic pergens in Italiam, ne a proximo facilius posset apprehendi, pecuniam domini per luxuriam prodegerat. &c. Hieron. in *Philem.* T. 4. p. 449. Vid. et Theodoretum in ep. ad *Philem.* T. 3. p. 516.

Timothie is joyned with *Paul* in the salutations at the begining of the epistle. At ver. 23. and 24. the Apostle sends salutations from *Epaphras*, then his fellow-prisoner: from *Mark*, whom *Timothie* had brought with him to *Rome*, according to *Paul's* desire. 2 Tim. iv. 11. from *Luke* and *Aristarchus*, who had accompanied the Apostle in his voyage from *Judea* to *Rome*, and had continued with him ever since: and from *Demas*, who had departed from the Apostle for a while, but was now returned. Compare 2 Tim. iv. 10.

From ver. 19. it is argued by (s) *Jerome*, as well as by some learned Commentators of late times, that the whole of this epistle was sent in the Apostle's own hand-writing.

St. Paul had now good hopes of obtaining his liberty. For he says at ver. 22. *But withall prepare me also a lodging. For I trust, that through your prayers I shall be given unto you.* Nevertheless, as *Timothie*

(s) Quod dicit, tale est. Quod Onesimus furto rapuit, ego me spondeo redditurum. Cujus sponfionis epistola haec et manus testis est propria. Quam non solito more dictavi, sed mea manu ipse conscripsi. *Hier. ib. p. 452.*

joyns with the Apostle in the salutations at the begining of the epistle, I think, it was not yet fully determined. For *Paul* says to the *Philippians*, ii. 23. that *he hoped to send him to them presently, so soon as he should see, how it would go with him.* As *Timothie* was still at *Rome*, and not sent away to *Philippi*; it may be argued, that the Apostle did not yet certainly know the successe of the attempts made use of by his friends to procure his liberty. I therefore conclude, that this epistle was writ about the same time with that to the *Philippians*, in the year 62. and some while before the end of it.

These three epistles, to the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*, are also placed by *Mill* (t) in the year 62.

I will now add a few observations concerning the epistle to *Philemon*.

Philemon's station is not certainly known. *Grotius* thought, he (u) dwelt at *Ephesus*, and was one of the Elders of that church.

Beaufobre,

(t) *Vid. Prolegom. num. 68. . . 70. et 80. . . 82.*

(u) *Philemoni dilecto.*] Videtur habitasse Ephesi, ubi Onesimus postea episcopatu functus est, ut et Ignatii literae, et alii scriptores tradunt. . . . *Et adjutori meo.*] id est uni Presbyterorum illorum, qui Ephesi plures erant. *Act. xx. 17. Grot. in Philim. ver. 1.*

Beausobre in his notes upon the first verse of this epistle speaks of *Philemon*, as (x) one of the Pastours of the church of *Colosse*.

To me it appears evident, that *Philemon* was an inhabitant of *Colosse*. For his servant, *Onesimus*, is recommended by *St. Paul* to the church in that city, and said to be one of them. iv. 7. And the Christians at *Colosse* are required by the Apostle to say to *Archippus*, Take heed to the ministrie, which thou hast received, ver. 17. Which *Archippus* is saluted in the epistle to *Philemon*. ver. 2.

Theodoret expressly says, that (y) *Philemon* was a citizen of *Colosse*, and that the house, in which he dwelt, was still remaining there. *Theophylact* (z) calls him a *Phrygian*. *Jerome* likewise says, he (a)

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was

(x) Il paroît par là, que *Philemon* étoit un des Pasteurs de l'église de *Colosses*. *Beauf.*

(y) Πόλιν δὲ ἔχε τὰς κολασσάς. Καὶ ἡ οἰκία δὲ αὐτοῦ μέχρι τῆ παρόντος μεμένηκε. *Theod. arg. ep. ad Philem. T. 3. p. 516.*

(z) *Theoph. ep. ad Philem. T. 2. p. 861.*

(a) Si autem *Philemon*, ad quem haec epistola scribitur, *Onesimi* dominus est . . . et ad *Colossenses* refertur, quod ex iis sit, ratio nos ipsa et ordo deducit, quod et *Philemon* *Colossensis* sit, et eo tempore communem ad omnem ecclesiam *Onesimus*

was of *Colosse*. But he bestows so many words, to make it out, that we may be led to think, there were some in his time, who disputed it.

Philemon, therefore, was a *Colossian*. But whether he was an Elder there, or only a private Christian, in good circumstances, is not so certain. The inscription is, . . . unto *Philemon*, our dearly beloved, and fellow-laborer. Which last expression is ambiguous. It may imply, that *Philemon* was an Elder in the church of *Colosse*. Or no more may be intended thereby, than in general, that *Philemon* was some way usefull in helping forward the gospel. In the Apostolical Constitutions (b) *Philemon* is said to have been ordained Bishop of *Colosse* by the

simus epistolam tulerit, quo privatas et sui commendatrices ad dominum literas sumserat. Est et aliud indicium, quod in hac eadem epistola et Archippus nominatur: cui hic cum Philemone scribitur: *Dicite, inquit, Archippo: Vide ministerium, quod accepisti a Domino, ut illud impleas. . . .* Ex quo puto, aut Episcopum fuisse Colossensis ecclesiae, cui admonetur studiose et diligenter praeesse, ut evangelii praedictorem. Aut si ita non est, illud mihi impraesentiarum sufficit, quod et Philemon, et Archippus, et Onesimus ipse, qui literas perferebat, fuerint Colossenses. &c., *Comm. in Philem.*

T. 4. p. 445.

(b) *Const. Ap. l. 7. cap. 46.*

the Apostles. But their testimonie is of very little weight. I do not perceive *Jerome* to say expressly, that (c) *Philemon* was Bishop, or Elder at *Colosse*. Perhaps he was not positive about it in his own mind. The Author of the Commentarie upon thirteen of *St. Paul's* epistles, by some reckoned to be *Hilarie*, Deacon of *Rome*, says, that (d) *Philemon* had no ecclesiastical dignity, but was one of the laity. And *Oecumenius*, in his prologue to the second epistle of *St. John*, formerly (e) cited, appears also to have thought *Philemon* to be a man in private station.

Perhaps some have been the rather unwilling to allow, that *Philemon* was a Bishop, or Elder, because he had a wife, whose name was *Apphia*, and because he was a man of substance, who had one slave at least, if not more. Nevertheless we have just observed two learned men, of very

(c) Scribunt igitur Paulus et Timotheus Philemoni carissimo et cooperatori : qui ideo carissimus dictus est, quod in eodem Christi opere versetur. *In ep. ad Philem. p. 446.*

(d) *Philemon* nulla erat ecclesiasticae ordinationis praeditus dignitate, sed vir laudabilis, unus ex plebe. &c. *Proleg. in ep. ad Philem.*

(e) See the first volume of this Supplement. p. 320. 321.

good judgement, *Gratius* and *Beaufobre*, who were not much swayed by those considerations. One of whom thought *Philemon* to have been an Elder in the church of *Ephesus*: the other, one of the Pastors of the church of *Colosse*. To them I can now add (f) Dr. *Doddridge*.

However, as the thing is of no great importance, so I must acknowledge, that it is not very easie to be decided. St. Paul's expression, *fellow-laborer*, as before observed, is ambiguous. His manner of address, which is very earnest, farther induces me to hesitate. If *Philemon* had been an Elder, he must have known his duty. And could not have needed so pressing an exhortation to receive a penitent, and him one of his familie.

Onesimus, unquestionably, was received by the church of *Colosse*, as a good Christian, upon the Apostle's recommendation. It is as reasonable to think, that *Philemon* was reconciled to him: and, probably, gave him his freedom. In the Apostolical Constitutions (g) he is said to have been Bishop of

(f) See his preface to *Philemon*. p. 585. and his *Paraphrase* of the first verse. p. 589. of the *Family-Expositor*. Vol. v.

(g) Lib. 7. cap. 46.

of *Beroea* in *Macedonia*. When *Ignatius* wrote his epistle to the *Ephesians*, about the year 107. their Bishop's name was *Onesimus*. And *Grotius* (*b*) thought him to be the same, for whom *Paul* interceded with *Philemon*. But that (*i*) is not certain.

§. XIV. *The Epistle to the Hebrews.*

I SHALL inquire, 1. to whom it was writ. 2. in what language. 3. by whom. 4. the time and place of writing it.

I. In the first place let us consider, to whom this epistle was writ.

A. D.
63.

Sir *Isaac Newton* thought, "That (*k*) this epistle was writ to Jewish believers, who left *Jerusalem* about the time that the war broke out, and went into *Asia*." According to this account, the epistle could

To whom
sent.

X 4

not

(*b*) See before note (*u*) p. 306.

(*i*) Vid. *Basnag. Ann.* 60. num. xxvii.

(*k*) "The epistle to the *Hebrews*, since it mentions *Timothy*, as related to the *Hebrews*, must be written to them, "after their flight into *Asia*: where *Timothy* was Bishop, and "by consequence after the war was begun." *Newton's Observations upon the Apoc. of St. John. ch. i. p. 244.*

not be writ, till some while after the breaking out of the war in *Judea*, in the year 66. But it will be difficult to shew, that *Paul*, whom *Sir Isaac* allows to be the writer, lived so long. Not now to mention any thing else.

Dr. Wall was inclined to the same opinion, or somewhat not very different. “ I (l) agree, says he, that the epistle was writ to “ *Hebrews*, that is, to the *Hebrew* Christians of some place. But for the place “ or countrey, I think, they were rather “ the *Hebrew* Christians of *Asia*, (*Ephesus*, “ *Miletus*, and thereabout,) *Macedonia*, “ *Greece*, &c. where *St. Paul* had spent “ most of his time, than that they were “ those of *Jerusalem*, &c.”

The late *Mr. Wetstein* conjectured, that (m) the epistle was writ by *Paul* to the Jewish believers at *Rome*, soon after he had been released from his confinement in that city.

(l) *Critical Notes upon the N. T.* p. 317. 318.

(m) Si conjecturae locus est, existimaverim potius ad *Judaeos* qui *Romae* degebant, et *Christo* nomen dederant, scriptam fuisse: quo admissio, facile intelligitur, qui factum, tum ut *Paulus*, qui *Romam* quidem, sed non *Italiam*, excedere jussus erat, brevi se rediturum speraret, tum ut *Itali* *Romanos* salutarent. *Wetsten. N. T. Tom. 2. p.* 386. 387.

city. Which conjecture, I believe, will be followed by very few. And as it has no ancient authority, and is destitute of all appearance of probability; I suppose, it need not to be confuted.

Lightfoot thought, "That (n) this epistle
" was sent by *Paul* to the believing Jews
" of *Judea*, a people, says he, that had
" been much engaged to him, for his care
" of their poor, getting collections for them
" all along in his travels." He adds: "It is
" not to be doubted indeed, that he in-
" tendeth the discourse and matter of this
" epistle to the Jews throughout their dis-
" perſion.—Yet does he endorſe it, and ſend
" it chiefly to the *Hebrews*, or the Jews of
" *Judea*, the principal part of the circum-
" ciſion, as the propereſt centre, to which to
" direct it, and from whence it might be beſt
" diffuſed in time to the whole circumfe-
" rence of the diſperſion."

Whitby, in his preface to the epistle to the *Hebrews*, is of the ſame opinion, and argues much after the ſame manner with *Lightfoot*.

So

(n) *Harmonie of the N. T.* Vol. i. p. 340.

So likewise (o) *Mill*, (p) *Pearson*, (q) *Lewis Cappell*, and *Beza* in his preface to this epistle, and the editors of the French N. T. at *Berlin*, in their general preface to St. *Paul's* epistles, and in their preface to this epistle in particular. Of this Mr. *Hallett* had no doubt, who in his Synopsis of the epistle says: " This epistle was particularly
 " designed for the *Hebrew* Christians, that
 " dwelt in one certain place, and was sent
 " thither, as appears from the Apostle's
 " saying, ch. xiii. 19. 23. *I beseech you the ra-*
 " *ther to do this, that I may be restored to you*
 " *the sooner. . . . I will see you.* And what
 " particular place can this be supposed to be,
 " but *Judea*? There the Christians were
 " continually persecuted by the unbelieving
 " Jews, as we read in the Acts of the A-
 " postles, and as St. *Paul* takes notice 1
 " Theff. ii. 14. Hebr. x. 32. . . 36. xii.
 " 4. 5.

(o) Per Hebræos autem istos potissimum fideles Hierosolymitanos intelligit, apud quos ante duos annos versatus fuerat. Hinc illud, ἵνα ἀποκατασταθῶ ὑμῖν. cap. xiii. 19. *Mill Proleg. num. 83.*

(p) *Annal. Paulin. p. 20. 21.*

(q) Ex quibus conjicere licet, hanc epistolam a Paulo sub finem priorum vinculorum Romæ scriptum fuisse ad Hierosolymitanos Judæos, qui in Christum crediderant. *L. Capp. Hist. Ap. p. 80.*

" 4. 5. By these persecutions the *Hebrew*
 " Christians were tempted to apostatise
 " from Christianity, and to think, there was
 " strength in the arguments urged by the
 " persecutors in favour of Judaism. The
 " Apostle therefore sets himself to guard
 " against both these dangers." And what
 follows.

This appears to me to be the most probable opinion.

For 1. It is the opinion of the ancient Christian writers, who received this epistle.

It may be taken for granted, that this was the opinion of (r) *Clement of Alexandria*, and (s) *Jerome*, and (t) *Euthalius*, who supposed this epistle to have been first written in *Hebrew*, and afterwards translated into *Greek*. It may be allowed to have been also the opinion of many others, who quote this epistle, as writ to *Hebrews*, when they say nothing to the contrarie. Nor do I recollect any ancients, who say it was writ to Jews living out of *Judea*.

Chrysostom

(r) *Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 6. cap. 14.*

(s) *Scripserat ut Hebraeus Hebraeis Hebraice, id est, suo eloquio disertissime. De V. l. cap. v.*

(t) *Argum. ep. ad Hebr. ap. Zac. p. 670.*

Chrysostom says, that (u) the epistle was sent to the believing Jews of *Palestine*. And supposeth, that the Apostle afterwards made them a visit. *Theodoret* (x) in his preface to the epistle, allowes it to be sent to the same Jews. And *Theophylact* (y) in his argument of the epistle expressly says, as *Chrysostom*, that it was sent to the Jews of *Palestine*. So that this (b) was the general opinion of the ancients.

2. There are in the epistle many things especially suitable to the believers in *Judea*. Which must lead us to think, it was writ to them. I shall select divers such passages.

1.) Hebr. i. 2. . . . *has in these last days spoken unto us by his Son.*

2.) Ch. iv. 2. *For unto us was the gospel preached, as well as to them.*

3.) Ch.

(u) Πῦ δὲ ὅσιν ἐπισέλλει; Ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ ἐν ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ παλαιστίνῃ. . . . Δύο μὲν ἔν ἐτῇ ἐποίησεν ἐν ῥώμῃ δεδεμένους· ἔπειτα ἐφείβη, ἔπειτα εἰς τὰς σπανίας ἦλθεν· ἔπειτα εἰς ἰουδαίαν ἔβη, ὅτε καὶ ἰουδαίους εἶδε. Καὶ τότε πάλιν ἦλθεν εἰς ῥώμην, ὅτε καὶ ὑπὸ νέωνος ἀνῆρέθη. Pr. in ep. ad Hebr. T. 12. p. 2.

(x) Vid. *Theodoret* argum. ep. ad Hebr.

(y) Τοῖς ἐν παλαιστίνῃ δὲ καὶ ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπισέλλει. *Theophyl.* arg. ep. ad Hebr. p. 872.

(b) Voyez la pref. de *Beausobre* sur l'épître aux Hebr. num. xxxviii.

3.) Ch. ii. 1. . . 4. *Therefore we ought to give the more earnest heed to the things, that we have heard . . . how then shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation, which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him : God also bearing them witness with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost.*

Does not that exhortation, and the reason, with which it is supported, peculiarly suit the believers of *Judea*, where Christ himself first taught, and then his disciples after him, confirming their testimonie with very numerous and conspicuous miracles?

4.) The people, to whom this epistle is sent, were well acquainted with our Saviour's sufferings, as they of *Judea* must have been. This appears in ch. i. 3. ii. 9. 18. v. 7. 8. ix. 14. 28. x. 11. xii. 2. 3. xiii. 12.

5.) Ch. v. 12. *For when ye ought to be teachers of others,* and what follows, is most properly understood of Christians in *Jerusalem*, and *Judea*, to whom the gospel was first preached.

6.) What is said ch. vi. 4. . . 6. and x. 26.

26. . . 29. is most properly applicable to apostates in Judea.

7.) X. 32. . . 34. *But call to remembrance the former days, in which, after ye were illuminated, ye endured a great fight of afflictions . . . to the end of ver. 34.* This leads us to the church of Jerusalem, which had suffered much, long before the writing of this epistle, even very soon after they had received the knowledge of the truth. Comp. Acts viii. 1. ix. 1. 2. xi. 19. and 1 Thess. ii. 14. Grotius (i) supposed as much.

8.) Those exhortations ch. xiii. 13. 14. must have been very suitable to the case of the Jews of Jerusalem, at the supposed time of writing this epistle, a few years before the war in that countrey broke out.

9.) The regard shewn in this epistle to the rulers of the church, or churches, to which it is sent, is very remarkable. They are mentioned twice or thrice: first in ch. xiii. 7. *Remember your rulers, who have spoken unto you the word of God: whose faith imitate, considering the end of their*

(i) Post Stephani mortem vehementer vexati fuere illi in Judaea Christiani, ut videre est Act. xi. 19. 1 Thess. ii. 14. Grot. ad Hebr. x. 34.

conversation. These were dead, as (k) Grotius observes. And Theodoret's note is to this purpose: "He (l) intends the saints
 " that were dead, Stephen the proto-martyr,
 " James the brother of John, and James
 " called the Just. And there were many
 " others, who were taken off by the Jewish
 " rage. Consider these, says he, and ob-
 " serving their example, imitate their faith."
 Then again, at ver. 17. *Obeý them that have
 the rule over you, and submit yourselves. For
 they watch for your souls. . . .* And once more
 ver. 24. *Salute all them that have the rule
 over you, and all the saints.* Upon which
 Theodoret says: "This (m) way of speak-
 " ing intimates, that their rulers did not
 " need such instruction. For which reason
 " he did not write to them, but to their
 " disciples." That is a fine observation.
 And Whitby upon that verse, says: "Hence
 it

(k) Loquitur autem de iis, qui jam obierant, ut ostendunt sequentia. Qui vobis locuti sunt verbum Dei: nempe in diversis oppidis: forte etiam diversis temporibus, cum mortuis alii successerint. *Id. ad Hebr. xiii. 7.*

(l) In ep. ad Hebr. cap. xiii. Tom. 3. p. 459. D.

(m) Αντίκειται ὁ λόγος, ὥς οἱ προσπαύοντες αὐτῶν τῇ αὐτῆς διδασκαλίᾳ ἐκ ἔχρησαν· οὐ δὴ χάριν ἐκ ἐκείνων ἐπέλα-
 λεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μαθηταῖς. *Ibid. p. 462. D.*

it seems evident, that this epistle was not sent to the Bishops or rulers of the church, but to the whole church, or the laity." And it may deserve to be considered, whether this repeated notice of the rulers among them does not afford ground to believe, that some of the Apostles were still in *Judea*? Whether there be sufficient reason to believe that, or not, I think these notices very proper and suitable to the state of the Jewish believers in *Judea*. For I am persuaded, that not only *James*, and all the other Apostles, had exactly the same doctrine with *Paul*: but that all the Elders likewise, and all the understanding men among the Jewish believers, embraced the same doctrine. They were, as I apprehend, the multitude only, *πλῆθος*, plebs, or the men of lower rank among them, who were attached to the peculiarities of the Mosaic law, and the customs of their ancestors. This may be argued from what *James* and the Elders, at *Jerusalem* say to *Paul*. Acts xxi. 20. . . 22. *Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are that believe. And they are all zealous of the law. . . . What is it therefore? The multitude must needs come together. . . .* It is hence evident, that the zeal
for

for the law, which prevailed in the minds of many, was not approved by *James*, or the Elders. That being the case, these recommendations of a regard for their Rulers, whether Apostles, or Elders, were very proper in an epistle sent to the believers in *Judea*.

For these reasons I think, that this epistle was sent to the Jewish believers at *Jerusalem*, and in *Judea*.

But there are objections, which must be considered.

1. Obj. Ch. vi. 10. *God is not unrighteous, to forget your work and labour of love . . . in that ye have ministered to the saints, and do minister.* Upon which Dr. Wall (n) remarks: "Here again we are put upon thinking, to what church, or what Christians, this is said. For as to those of *Jerusalem*, we read much in *Paul's* former letters, of their poverty, and of their being ministered to by the Gentil Christians of *Galatia*, *Macedonia*, *Corinth*: and in the Acts, by the *Antiochians*: but no where of their ministering to other

(n) *Critical Notes upon the N. T.* p. 306.

“saints. If it is of them that St. Paul
 “speaks this, it must be meant of their
 “ministring to their own poor. For that
 “they were famous at first, when their
 “rich men sold their lands, and brought
 “the money to the Apostles, and they
 “had all things in common, and none
 “lacked. But in the time since that, they
 “were very poor, and were relieved by
 “other churches.” The late Mr. *Wetstein*,
 whose (v) words I place below, argued
 much after the same manner with Dr.
Wall. This objection, perhaps, might be
 strengthened from Hebr. xiii. 2. *Be not for-
 getfull to entertain strangers.* And from
 ver. 16. *To do good, and to communicate,
 forget not.*

Answ. But the poverty of the Jews in
Judea, and the contributions of the Gentil
 churches for their relief, are no reason, why
 such admonitions as these should not be sent
 to them. They are properly directed to all
 Christians,

(v) Secundo, non possunt intelligi, qui Hierosolymis de-
 gebant. Hi enim pauperiores erant, et opus habebant, ut
 eorum inopia ab aliis ecclesiis sublevaretur. . . . Iis vero, ad
 quos haec epistola scripta est, commendatur beneficentia. xiii.
 16. vi. 10. Erant ergo tales, non qui stipem accipere, sed
 qui dare debebant, solebantque. *Wetst. ubi supr. p. 368. fin.*

Christians, that they may be induced to exert themselves to the utmost. The Gentil churches, among whom St. Paul made collections for the saints in *Judea*, were not rich. As he says. 1 Cor. i. 26. *For ye know your calling, brethren . . . not many mighty, not many noble, are called. . .* And of the churches in *Macedonia* he says. 2 Cor. viii. 2. . . . *How that in a great trial of affliction, the abundance of their joy, and their deep poverty, had abounded unto the riches of their liberality.* In like manner there might be instances of liberality to the distressed among the believers in *Judea*. There is a very fine example recorded. Acts ix. 36. . . 39. Nor was there ever any city or countrey in the world, to whom that exhortation, *be not forgetful to entertain strangers, or be not unmindfull of hospitality*, τῆς φιλοξενίας μὴ ἐπιλανθάνεσθε, could be more properly given, than *Jerusalem*, and *Judea*. For the people there must have been much accustomed to it at their festivals, when there was a great resort thither from all countreys. And the writer of an epistle to the Christian inhabitants of *Jerusalem* and *Judea* would naturally think

of such an admonition: being desirous, that they should not fall short of others in that respect. And we may here not unfitly recollect the historie of St. Paul's going to *Jerusalem*, and how he, and his fellow-travellers, were entertained at *Cesarea*, in the house of *Philip* the Evangelist, and at *Jerusalem*, in the house of *Mnason*, an old disciple. As related Acts xxi. 8. . . 16.

2. Obj. Upon ch. xiii. 18. 19. the same (p) Dr. Wall says: "One would think, that Paul should have prayed and purposed to go any whither, rather than to *Jerusalem*, where he had been so used: and where he fell into that five years imprisonment, from which he was but just now delivered." To the like purpose also (q) Mr. Wetstein.

But there is not any improbability, that Paul might now desire to see his countrey-men in *Judea*: if he might go thither with safety, as I think he might. Almost three years had now passed, since he left *Judea*. And his trial, or apologie, had been over two years. And he was now set at liberty by

(p) As before. p. 316.

(q) Ubi supra. p. 386.

by the Emperour himself. No man, not very presumptuous, would admit a thought of disturbing him. However, I suppose, that the Apostle would behave discreetly : so as to give no needless provocation to any, and that he would stay but a short time in *Judea*, and then go to *Ephesus*. There have been men of good sense, who have supposed, that *Paul* went to *Jerusalem* about this time, particularly *Chrysostom* (r) among the ancients, and (s) divers moderns, one of whom is (t) *Pearson*.

3. Obj. “ St. (u) *Peter*’s epistles were
 “ written to the *Hebrew* Christians, scatter-
 “ ed in *Asia*, and *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappa-*
 “ *docia*, and *Bitbynia*. St. *Paul* must have
 “ written an epistle to those *Hebrew* Chris-
 “ tians, to whom St. *Peter* writes his two
 “ epistles. For St. *Peter* 2 ep. iii. 15.
 “ cites to them what *Paul* had written unto
 “ them. No epistle of *Paul* was written
 “ to *Hebrews*, particularly, but this. So
 Y 3 “ that

(r) See before. p. 316.

(s) Lud. Cappell. Hist. Apost. p. 39. *Lenfant et Beausobre*
Pref. generale sur les epistres de St. Paul. num. lv.

(t) *Paulus e Creta cum Timotheo in Judaeam navigat.*
Heb. xiii. 23. Annal. Paulin. p. 21. A. Chr. 64.

(u) *Wall, as before. p. 318. 319.*

"that these must be the *Hebrews* of the above named countreys."

To which I answer, that St. *Peter's* epistles were not sent to Jews, but to Gentils, or to all Christians in general, in the places above mentioned, as will be clearly shewn hereafter. When St. *Peter* says, *as Paul has written unto you*, he may intend *Paul's* epistle to the *Galatians*, and (x) some other epistles, writ to Gentils. If he refers at all to this epistle to the *Hebrews*, it is comprehended under that expression ver. 16. *as also in all his epistles.*

4. Obj. This epistle to the *Hebrews* seems to have been writ in *Greek*. But if it had been sent to the Jewish believers in *Judea*, it would have been writ in *Hebrew*.

To which I answer, that allowing the epistle to have been writ in *Greek*, it might be sent to the believers in *Judea*. If St. *Paul* wrote to the Jewish believers in *Palestine*, he intended the epistle for general use,

(x) Videtur respicere Petrus ad Rom. ii. 4. ubi de Dei longanimitate similia habet his quae docet hic Petrus: dicere. que ad Asiaticos scriptam epistolam, quae ad Romanos data, eo quod epistolae Pauli, quamquam ad singulas ecclesias, et homines singulos, missae, omnium Christianorum illius aevi communes jure haberentur. *Cleric. H. E. A.* 69. p. 459.

use, for all Christians, whether of Jewish or Gentil original. Many (y) of the Jews in *Judea*, understood *Greek*. Few of the Jews out of *Judea* understood *Hebrew*. The *Greek* language was almost universal, and therefore generally used. All St. *Paul's* epistles are in *Greek*, even that to the *Romans*. And are not both St. *Peter's* epistles in *Greek*? and St. *John's*, and St. *Jude's*? Yea, did not St. *James* likewise write in *Greek*, who is supposed to have resided at *Jerusalem*, from the time of our Lord's ascension to the time of his own death? His epistle is inscribed *to the twelve tribes, scattered abroad*. But I presume, that they of the twelve tribes, who dwelt in *Judea*, are not excluded by him, but intended. Nor could he be unwilling, that his epistle should be read and understood by those, who were his special charge. The epistle

Y 4

writ

(y) Ils n'ont point eu d'autre raison de croire, que S. Paul avoit écrit en Hebreu, que celle qu'il écrivoit à des Hebreux. Or cette raison, toute vraisemblable qu'elle paroît, n'est point convaincante, parcequ'il est certain, que la langue Grecque étoit entendue dans la Judée, quoiqu'elle ne fût pas la langue vulgaire. Tous les auteurs du nouveau Testament ont écrit en Grec, bien qu'ils écrivissent pour tous les fideles, soit Hebreux, soit Gentils. *Beauf. Pref. sur l'epître aux Hebreux. num. xv.*

writ by *Barnabas*, a Levite, or ascribed to him, was writ in *Greek*. Not now to mention any other Jewish writers, who have used the *Greek* language.

*In what
language it
was writ.*

II. Thus we are unawares brought to the inquirie, in what language this epistle was writ. For there have been doubts about it among both ancients and moderns. So that we are obliged to take some particular notice of this point. But I should have deferred the consideration of it, till we had observed the writer of the epistle, if the just mentioned objection had not brought this inquirie in our way in this place.

And it may be recollected, that (x) I formerly alleged divers learned and judicious moderns, who have been of opinion, that *Greek*, and not *Hebrew*, was the original language of this epistle. To them I now add several others: (a) *James Cappell*, (b) *S. Basnage*, (c) *Mill* in his *Prolegomena* to the

(x) See Vol. viii. p. 189. . . . 191.

(a) *Jacob. Cappell. observat. in ep. ad Hebr. §. ii. et iii.*

(b) *Ann. 61. num. vi.*

(c) Et sane magis adhuc inutilis est eorum sententia, qui hanc epistolam Paulo quidem Hebraice scriptam volunt ab
allo

the New Testament, and (*d*) the late Mr. *Wetstein*, and also (*e*) *Spanheim* in his Dissertation concerning the author of this epistle, which well deserves to be consulted. One argument for this, both of (*f*) *Spanheim*, and (*g*) *Wetstein*, is taken from the Greek paronomasias in the epistle, or the frequent concurrence of Greek words of like sound.

Which

alio autem aliquo traductam fuisse in sermonem Graecum. Nihil enim clarius atque evidentius, quam eam lingua Graeca primitus conceptam fuisse. &c. *Prolegom. num. 95. . . 98.*

(*d*) Ad haec observamus, 1. epistolam ad Hebraeos, quae nunc Graece exstat, non est interpretis, sed ipsius auctoris. Qui putant ad Hebraeos non aliter quam Hebraice scribi debuisse, manifesto falluntur. Omnes enim novi foederis libri, etiam Matthaei, ut ad ipsum vidimus, lingua Graeca scripti sunt. Hanc linguam plerique Judaei norant. *Wetsten. T. Gr. T. 2. p. 385.*

(*e*) *Spanb. De Auctore epist. ad Hebr. Part. 3. cap. ii. Tom. 2. p. 245. . . . 252.*

(*f*) Nono, decretorium fere argumentum est a Graecorum idiotismis, hac in epistola passim conspicuis. Pauca haec de multis. Auctor cap. v. versu 8. elegantem adhibet παρανομασίαν. Scil. Ἐμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθε, qualem Hebraismus non ferebat. Graeci contra mire sibi in talibus placent. &c. *Spanb. ubi supr. n. xii. p. 249.*

(*g*) Porro manifestae reperiuntur paronomasiae, et ὁμοιοτέλευτα, quae si in aliam linguam convertantur, pereunt. Hebr. v. 8. . . et ver. 14. καλῶτε καὶ κακῶ. vii. 3. ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ. xi. ἐπρίσθησαν, ἐπεφάσθησαν. xi. 10. βρώμασι καὶ πόμασι. xiii. 14. μένυσαν καὶ μέλλουσιν. Talia auctor potius sectatur quam interpretes. *Wetst. ib. p. 385.*

Which seems to be an argument, not easie to be answered.

Some ancient Christian writers were of opinion, that the epistle to the *Hebrews* was writ in the *Hebrew* language, and (*b*) translated into *Greek* by *Luke*, or *Clement* of *Rome*. *Jerome* (*i*) in particular, seems to have supposed, that this epistle was writ in *Hebrew*. And *Origen* also is sometimes reckon'd among those, who were of this opinion. But I think, I have shewn it to be probable, that (*k*) he thought it was writ in *Greek*. It seems likewise, that they must have been of the same opinion, who considered the elegance of the *Greek* language of this epistle as an objection against it's having been writ by *St. Paul*. For if the *Greek* epistle had been supposed to be a translation, the superior elegance of the stile of this epistle above that of the other epistles of *Paul* could have afforded no objection against his being the author of it.

Indeed the ancients, as *Beaufobre* said (*l*) formerly,

(*b*) See *cb. ii. Vol. i. p. 56. cb. 22. Vol. ii. p. 474. 492. and Vol. viii. p. 146. 147. 149.*

(*i*) *Cb. 114. vol. x. p. 113.*

(*k*) See *cb. 38. Vol. iii. p. 259. 260. and vol. viii. p. 189.*

(*l*) *Vol. viii. p. 190. See likewise here p. 327. note (y).*

formerly, had no other reason to believe, that St. Paul wrote in *Hebrew*, but that he wrote to the *Hebrews*. So likewise says (m) *Cappellus*. The title deceived them. And because it was writ to *Hebrews*, they concluded it was writ in *Hebrew*. For none of the ancients appear to have seen a copie of this epistle in that language.

III. I now proceed to the third inquirie, *Who was the Writer*, who is the writer of this epistle. And many things offer in favour of the Apostle Paul.

1. It is ascribed to him by many of the ancients.

Here I think my-self obliged briefly to recollect the testimonies of ancient authors, which have been produced at large in the preceding volumes. And I shall rank them under two heads: first the testimonies of writers who used the *Greek* tongue, then the testimonies of those who lived in that part of

(m) Qui volunt hanc epistolam Hebraice scriptam, hos decepit titulus. Cum enim ad Hebraeos scribebatur, Hebraice quoque scribi debuisse sunt opinati. Sed meminisse debuerant, etiam Hierosolymis magnum fuisse linguae Graecae usum. Cis Hierosolymam paucissimi Judaei aliter quam Graece loquebantur. *Jacob. Capp. Observat. in Nov. Testam. p. 109.*

of the Roman Empire, where the *Latin* was the vulgar language.

There are some passages (*n*) in the epistles of *Ignatius*, about the year 107. which may be thought by some to contain allusions to the epistle to the *Hebrews*. This epistle seems to be referred to by (*o*) *Poly carp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, in his epistle, writ to the *Philippians* in the year 108. and (*p*) in the Relation of his Martyrdom, writ about the middle of the second century. This epistle is often quoted as *Paul's* by (*r*) *Clement* of *Alexandria*, about the year 194. It is received, and quoted as *Paul's* by (*s*) *Origen*, about 230. It was also received as the Apostle's by (*t*) *Dionysius* Bp. of *Alexandria* in 247. It is plainly referred to by (*u*) *Theognostus*, of *Alexandria*, about 282. It appears to have been received by (*x*) *Methodius*, about 292. by (*y*) *Pamphilus*, about 294. and by (*z*) *Archelaus*,
Bp.

(*n*) See *Vol. i. p. 174.... 176.*

(*o*) See *Vol. i. p. 213. 214.*

(*p*) *P. 223.*

(*r*) *Vol. ii. p. 474. and 503. 504.*

(*s*) *Vol. iii. p. 237. 249. 250.*

(*t*) *Vol. iv. p. 663. and 735.*

(*u*) *Vol. v. p. 162.... 164.*

(*x*) *Vol. v. p. 258.... 261.*

(*y*) *Vol. v. p. 326. (z) Vol. vi. p. 14.*

Bp. in *Mesopotamia*, at the begining of the fourth centurie, by (a) the *Manicbeans* in the fourth, and (b) by the *Paulicians*, in the seventh centurie. It was received, and ascribed to *Paul* by (c) *Alexander*, Bp. of *Alexandria*, in the year 313. and by (d) the *Arians* in the fourth centurie. *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Cesarea*, about 315. says, there (e) are fourteen epistles of *Paul*, manifest and well known: but yet there are some, who reject that to the *Hebrews*, alleging in behalf of their opinion, that it was not received by the church of *Rome*, as a writing of *Paul*. It is often quoted by *Eusebius* (f) himself, as *Paul's*, and sacred scripture. This epistle was received by (g) *Athanasius*, without any hesitation. In his enumeration of *St. Paul's* fourteen epistles, this is placed next after the two to the *Thessalonians*, and before the epistles to *Timothie*, *Titus*, and *Philemon*. The same order is observed (b) in the Synopsis of Scripture ascribed to him.

This

(a) Vol. vi. p. 336.

(b) P. 428. . . 432.

(c) Vol. vii. p. 250.

(d) P. 280. . . 282.

(e) Vol. viii. p. 100. 101. See also p. 110.

(f) Vol. viii. p. 147. . . 150.

(g) Vol. viii. p. 227. and 232.

(b) P. 243. . . 245.

This epistle is received as *Paul's* by (i) *Adamantius*, author of a Dialogue against the *Marcionites* in 330. and by (k) *Cyril of Jerusalem*, in 348. by (l) the Council of *Laodicea*, in 363. Where *St. Paul's* epistles are enumerated in the same order, as in *Atbanasius*, just taken notice of. This epistle is also received as *Paul's* by (m) *Epiphanus*, about 368. by (n) the Apostolical Constitutions, about the end of the fourth century. by (o) *Basil*, about 370. by (p) *Gregorie Nazianzen*, in 370. by *Ambilochius* (q) also. But he says, it was not received by all, as *Paul's*. It was received by (s) *Gregorie Nyssen*, about 371. by (t) *Didymus of Alexandria*, about the same time, by (u) *Ephraim the Syrian*, in 370. and by (x) the churches of *Syria*, by (y) *Diodore of Tarsus*, in 378. by (z) *Hierax*, a learned *Egyptian*, about the year 302. by (a) *Sera-
pion*,

(i) P. 256.

(k) Vol. viii. p. 270. 271. 273. (l) P. 292. 293.

(m) Vol. viii. p. 304. and 308. (n) P. 394.

(o) Vol. ix. p. 113. 114. (p) P. 133.

(q) Vol. ix. p. 147. 148.

(s) P. 156. (t) P. 173.

(u) Vol. ix. p. 191. (x) P. 217. 218.

(y) P. 352. (z) See Vol. vi. p. 83.

(a) The same. p. 45.

pion, Bishop of *Thmuis*, in *Egypt*, about 347. by (b) *Titus*, Bp. of *Bostra*, in *Arabia*, about 362. by (c) *Theodore*, Bp. of *Mopsuestia*, in *Cilicia*, about the year 394. by (d) *Chrysostom*, at the year 398. by (e) *Severian*, Bp. of *Gabala*, in *Syria*, 401. by (f) *Victor*, of *Antioch*, about 401. by (g) *Palladius*, author of a *Life of Chrysostom*, about 408. by (h) *Isidore* of *Pelufium*, about 412. by (i) *Cyril*, Bp. of *Alexandria*, in 412. by (k) *Theodoret*, at 423. by (l) *Eutharius*, Bp. of *Tyana*, in *Cappadocia*, in 431. by (m) *Socrates*, the *Ecclesiastical Historian*, about 440. by (n) *Euthalius*, in *Egypt*, about 458. and, probably, by (o) *Dionysius*, falsely called the *Areopagite*. by (p) the Author of the *Quaestiones et Responsiones*, commonly ascribed to *Justin Martyr*, but rather writ in the fifth centurie. It

(b) *Vol. vi. p. 51. and 336.*

(c) *Vol. ix. p. 395. 396.*

(d) *Vol. x. p. 312. 335.* (e) *Vol. xi. p. 3.*

(f) *Vol. xi. p. 38.* (g) *P. 60.*

(h) *P. 69.* (i) *P. 75.*

(k) *Vol. xi. p. 80. 84.* (l) *P. 123.*

(m) *P. 452.* (n) *Vol. xi. p. 212.*

(o) *Vol. xi. p. 219. 220.*

(p) See *Vol. i. p. 262. the 2d. ed.*

It is in (q) the *Alexandrian* manuscript, about the year 500. and (r) in the *Stichometrie* of *Nicephorus*, about 806. is received as *Paul's* by (s) *Cosmas* of *Alexandria*, about 535. by (t) *Leontius* of *Constantinople*, about 610. by (u) *John Damascen* in 730. by (x) *Photius*, about 858. by (y) *Oecumenius*, about the year 950. and by (z) *Theophylact* in 1070. I shall not go any lower.

I shall now rehearse such authors, as lived in that part of the Roman Empire, where the *Latin* was the vulgar tongue.

Here in the first place offers *Clement* in his epistle to the *Corinthians*, writ about the year 96. or as some others say, about the year 70. For though he wrote in *Greek*, we rank him among *Latin* authors, because he was Bishop of *Rome*. In his epistle (a) are divers passages, generally supposed to contain allusions, or references to the epistle
to

(q) *Vol. xi. p. 240.* (r) *P. 249.*

(s) *Vol. xi. p. 269.* (t) *P. 383.*

(u) *P. 393.* (x) *P. 401.*

(y) *P. 410.* (z) *P. 418.*

(a) *Those passages are alleged, with remarks. Vol. i. p. 87. . . 95. first ed. p. 85. . . 94. 2d. ed. And see p. 103. first ed. p. 101. 2d. ed.*

to the *Hebrews*. *Irenaeus*, Bp. of *Lyons*, about 178. as we are assured by *Eusebius*, alleged (*b*) some passages out of this epistle, in a work now lost. Nevertheless, it does not appear, that he received it, as *St. Paul's*. By *Tertullian*, Presbyter of *Carthage*, about the year 200. this (*c*) epistle is ascribed to *Barnabas*. *Caius*, about 212. supposed to have been Presbyter in the church of *Rome*, reckoning (*d*) up the epistles of *St. Paul*, mentioned thirteen only, omitting that to the *Hebrews*. Here I place *Hippolytus*, who flourished about 220. But it is not certainly known, where he was Bishop, whether at *Porto* in *Italie*, or at some place in the East. We have seen evidences, that (*e*) he did not receive the epistle to the *Hebrews*, as *St. Paul's*. And perhaps, that may afford an argument, that though he wrote in *Greek*, he lived, where the *Latin* tongue prevailed. This epistle is (*f*) not quoted by *Cyprian*,
Bishop

(*b*) See Vol. i. 368... 372. and p. 381.

(*c*) See Vol. ii. p. 606... 612.

(*d*) See Vol. iii. p. 24... 31.

(*e*) See Vol. iii. p. 86. 88. 110.

(*f*) See Vol. iv. p. 821. 828. and p. 853.

Bishop of *Carthage*, about 248. and afterwards. Nor does it appear to have been received by (g) *Novatus*, otherwise called *Novatian*, Presbyter of *Rome*, about 251. Nevertheless it was in after times received (h) by his followers. It may be thought by some, that this epistle is referred to by (i) *Arnobius*, about 306. and (k) *Lactantius*, about the same time. It is plainly quoted by (l) another *Arnobius*, in the fifth centurie. It was received, as *Paul's*, by (m) *Hilarie*, of *Poitiers*, about 354. and (n) by *Lucifer*, Bp. of *Cagliari*, in *Sardinia*, about the same time, and by (o) his followers. It was also received, as *Paul's*, by (p) *C. M. Victorinus*. Whether (q) it was received by *Optatus*, of *Milevi*, in *Africa*, about 370. is doubtful. It was received, as *Paul's*, by (r) *Ambrose*, Bp. of *Milan*, about 374. by (s) the *Priscillianists*, about 378. About the year 380. was published

(g) See Vol. v. 93... 98.

(h) The same. p. 97. and 105. 106.

(i) See Vol. vii. p. 52.

(k) P. 185... 188.

(l) Vol. vii. p. 56.

(m) Vol. viii. p. 283.

(n) Vol. ix. p. 42.

(o) P. 45. and 47.

(p) P. 59.

(q) See Vol. ix. p. 235. 236.

(r) P. 249. 250.

(s) P. 325... 328.

lished a Commentarie upon thirteen epistles of *Paul* only, (t) ascribed to *Hilarie*, Deacon of *Rome*. It was received as *Paul's* by (u) *Pbilaster*, Bp. of *Brescia* in *Italie*, about 380. But he takes notice, that it was not then received by all. His successor *Gaudentius*, about 387. quotes this (x) epistle as *Paul's*. It is also readily received as *Paul's* by (y) *Jerome*, about 392. And he says, it was generally received by the *Greeks*, and the Christians in the East, but not by all the *Latins*. It was received as *Paul's* by (z) *Rufin* in 397. It is also in (a) the catalogue of the third council of *Carthage*, in 397. It is frequently quoted by (b) *Augustin*, as *St. Paul's*. In one place (c) he says, "It is of doubtful authority with some. But he was inclined to follow the opinion of the churches in the East, who received it among the canonical scriptures." It was received, as *Paul's*, by (d) *Chromatius*, Bp. of *Aquileia*, in *Italie*, about 401. by

Z 2

(e) *Inno-*(t) *P.* 361. (u) *P.* 373... 376.(x) *P.* 379. (y) *Vol. x. p.* 76. 112. 113. and 119.(z) *P.* 186. (a) *P.* 194.(b) *Vol. x. p.* 211. 239. . . 247. (c) *P.* 244.(d) *Vol. xi. p.* 25.

(e) *Innocent*, Bp. of *Rome*, about 402. by
 (f) *Paulinus*, Bp. of *Nola* in *Italie*, about
 403. *Pelagius* (g) about 405. wrote a Com-
 mentarie upon thirteen epistles of *St. Paul*,
 omitting that to the *Hebrews*. Neverthe-
 less it was received by (b) his followers. It
 was received by (i) *Cassian*, about 424. by
 (k) *Prosper* of *Aquitain*, about 434. and by
 (l) the Authors of the works ascribed to
 him : by (m) *Eucherius*, Bp. of *Lyons*, in
 434. by (n) *Sedulius*, about 818. by (o)
Leo, Bp. of *Rome*, in 440. by (q) *Salvian*,
 Presbyter of *Marseilles*, about 440. by (r)
Gelasius, Bp. of *Rome*, about 496. by (s)
Facundus, an *African* Bishop, about 540.
 by (t) *Junilius*, an *African* Bishop, about
 556. by (u) *Cassiodorius* in 556. by (x)
 the Author of the imperfect Work upon
St. Matthew, about 560. by (y) *Gregorie*,
 Bp. of *Rome*, about 590. by (z) *Isidore*, of
Seville,

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| (e) P. 39. | (f) P. 44. | (g) P. 47. |
| (b) P. 49. | (i) P. 114. | |
| (k) P. 132. | (l) P. 136... 138. | |
| (m) P. 169. | (u) P. 179. 183. | |
| (o) Vol. xi. p. 190. | (q) P. 199. | |
| (r) P. 225. | (s) P. 285. | (t) P. 297. |
| (u) P. 305... 308. and 311. | | |
| (x) P. 330. 331. | (y) P. 349. 350. | |
| (z) P. 365... 369. | | |

Seville, about 596. and by (a) *Bede*, about 701. or the begining of the eighth centurie.

It may be now needful to make a few remarks.

It is evident, that this epistle was generally received in ancient times, by those Christians, who used the *Greek* language, and lived in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire. I forbear to insist here on the seeming references in *Ignatius*, and *Polycarp*. But *Clement* of *Alexandria*, before the end of the second centurie, received this epistle as *Paul's*, and quotes it as such frequently, without any doubt, or hesitation. And had a tradition from some before him, concerning the reason, why the Apostle did not prefix his name to this, as he did to his other epistles.

Concerning the *Latin* writers it is obvious to remark, that this epistle is not expressly quoted, as *Paul's*, by any of them in the first three centuries. However, it was known to *Irenaeus*, and *Tertullian*, as we have seen, and possibly to others also. It is generally supposed, that there are divers allusions and references to this epistle, in the epistle of *Clement* of *Rome*, writ to the *Corinthians*.

Z 3

However,

(a) P. 386.

However, I formerly mentioned (*b*) two learned men, who did not think that a clear point. I have since met with another of the same mind, whose words I place (*) below. And I must likewise refer to a consideration, formerly (*c*) proposed: that the little notice taken of this epistle by *Latin* writers in the second and third centuries; and *Eusebius* (*d*) and *Jerome* (*e*) assuring us, that by many of the Romans in their time, this epistle was not received: seem to weaken the supposition, that *Clement* had often alluded to this epistle. For if the church of *Rome*, in his time, had owned it for an epistle of *Paul*; it is not easie to conceive, how any *Latin* Christians afterwards should have rejected it, or doubted of it's authority.

However,

(*b*) See Vol. i. p. 93. 2d. ed. p. 95. first edit.

(*) Sed quis dubitaret, quin ex epistola ad Hebræos multa habeat, cum Eusebius illud diserte annotet . . ? Nec tamen illud tam exploratum est. Phrasium et sententiarum aequalitas, ex qua illud unice derivandum est, (nam nusquam a Clemente citatur,) non est adeo perfecta et frequens, non adeo singularis, ut ex Ep. ad Hebræos eas repetitas esse, inde evincatur. *Herman. Venem. Diff. ii. de Tit. ep. ad Epbes. num. viii. p. 343.*

(*c*) See Vol. i. p. 103. first ed. p. 101. 2d. ed.

(*d*) Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. 3. c. 3. p. 72. B. C. and in this work Vol. viii. p. 101.

(*e*) See Vol. x. p. 120. and 122.

However, it is manifest, that it was received as an epistle of St. *Paul* by many *Latin* writers, in the fourth, fifth, and following centuries.

The reasons of doubting about the genuineness of this epistle, probably, were the want of a name at the beginning, and the difference of argument, or subject matter, and of style, from the commonly received epistles of the Apostle, as is intimated by (f) *Jerome*. Whether they are sufficient reasons for rejecting this epistle, will be considered in the course of our argument.

2. There is nothing in the epistle itself, that renders it impossible, or unlikely to be his.

For the epistle appears to have been written before the destruction of *Jerusalem* : as was of old observed by (g) *Chrysostom*, and (h) *Theodoret*, and has been argued also by many (i) moderns. That the temple was still

Z 4 standing,

(f) See Vol. x. p. 112.

(g) Vid. *Chrysost.* Pr. in ep. ad Hebr. T. 12. p. 4. C. D.

(h) *Theod.* in Hebr. xiii. 9. 10.

(i) Quærentibus, quo tempore, et unde scripta sit epistola ad Hebræos, nihil est quod respondeamus, nisi scriptam fuisse, cum Judæi adhuc gloriarentur templo Jerosolymitano, et

standing, and sacrifices there offered, may be inferred from ch. viii. 4. *For if he were on earth, he should not be a Priest: seeing there are Priests, that offer according to the law: and from ch. xiii. 10. We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat, which serve the tabernacle.* Moreover, if (*k*) the temple had been destroyed, and the worship there abolished; the writer would not have failed to take some notice of it, in support of his argument, and for abating the too great attachment of many to the rites of the Mosaic institution. To this purpose speaks *Spanheim* in a passage, which I have transcribed below. And in like manner another learned Commentator, to (*l*) whom I refer,

It

et sacerdotio Mosæico: de quibus ubique loquitur scriptor, ut etiamnum stantibus. *Cleric. Hist. Ec. An.* 69. p. 461.

(*k*) Quia nata haec epistola, stante templo et Levitico sacerdotio. . . . Hebr. viii. 4. Neque alias necesse fuit declarare in sacrificiorum usum, et praxin sacerdotii, penitus eo templi et urbis et reipublicae everfione sublato. Neque maxime omnium praegnans argumentum Judaeis confundendis, et coercendis pseudo-apostolis, ab ipsa jactura cultus, et Hierosolymitanæ sedis restitutionis spe nulla amplius affulgente praetermississet. *Spanhem. ubi supra. P. 2. cap. vi. p. 3. T. i. p. 229.*

(*l*) See *Beaufobre's* preface to the epistle to the Hebrews. num. iii.

It is also probable, that (*m*) those words ch. iii. 13. *While it is called to day*, refer to the patience, which God yet continued to exercise toward the Jewish nation. He seems to have had in view the approaching desolation of *Jerusalem*, which would put an end to that *to day*, and finish the time, which God gave to the Jews, as a nation, to *bear his voice*. And *Lightfoot* (*n*) argues from ch. xii. 4. *Ye have not yet resisted unto blood*: that the epistle was writ before the war in *Judea* was begun.

Indeed those words have been the ground of an objection against this epistle having been sent to the believing Jews in *Judea*, because there had been already several martyrdoms in that countrey. That difficulty I would now remove. And I have received from a learned friend the following observation, which may be of use. “It seems
“to me, says he, that (*o*) the Apostle here,
“as well as in the preceding context, alludes to the Grecian games or exercises:
“and he signifies, that they, to whom he
“writes,

(*m*) *The same.*

(*n*) *Harmon. of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 339.*

(*o*) . . . πρὸς τὴν αἵμαρτιαν ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι.

“ writes, had not been called out to the
 “ most dangerous combats, and had not
 “ run the immediate hazard of their lives.
 “ Which, I suppose, might be said, of them
 “ as a body, or church.” And I shall trans-
 fer hither Mr. *Beaufobre's* note upon this
 place. “ There had been Martyrs in *Judea*,
 “ as *Stephen*, and the two *James*. But for
 “ the most part the Jews did not put the
 “ Christians to death, for want of power.
 “ They were imprisoned, and scourged.
 “ See Acts v. 40. and here xiii. 3. And
 “ they endured reproaches, and the loss of
 “ their substance. ch. x. 32. . . 34. These
 “ were the sufferings, which they had met
 “ with. The Apostle therefore here indi-
 “ rectly reproves the *Hebrews*, that though
 “ God treated them with more indulgence
 “ than he had done his people in former
 “ times, and even than his own Son, they
 “ nevertheless wavered in their profession of
 “ the gospel. See ver. 12.”

3. There are divers exhortations in this
 epistle, much resembling some in the ac-
 knowledged epistles of St. *Paul*.

1.) Hebr. xii. 3. . . *Least (p) ye be wearied,*
and

(p) . . . ἵνα μὴ κἀμνητε, ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐκλυόμενοι.

and faint in your mind. Gal. vi. 9. *And (q) let us not be wearie in well-doing, for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not.* And see 2 Theff. iii. 13. and Eph. iii. 13.

2.) Hebr. xii. 14. *Follow (r) peace with all men, and holinesse, without which no man shall see the Lord.* An exhortation very suitable to *Paul*, and to the Jewish believers in *Judea*: admonishing them not to impose the rituals of the law upon others, that is, the Gentil believers, and to maintain friendship with them, though they did not embrace the law. It has also a resemblance with Rom. xii. 18. But the words of the original are different.

3.) Hebr. xiii. 1. *Let brotherly love continue*: and what follows to the end of ver. 3. Then at ver. 4. *Marriage is honorable. But fornicators and adulterers God will judge.* Here is an agreement with Eph. v. 2. 3. *And walk in love, as Christ also has loved us. . . But fornication, and all uncleannesse, and covetousnesse, let it not be once named among you. . . 4. For this ye know, that no fornicator,*
nor

(q) Τὸ δὲ καλὸν ποιοῦντες μὴ ἐκκακῶμεν· Καίρῳ γὰρ ἰδίῳ θερίσομεν, μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι.

(r) Εἰρήνην διώκετε μετὰ πάντων, καὶ τὸν ἁγιασμόν.

nor unclean person, nor covetous man, . . . , has any inheritance in the kingdom of God.

4.) Ch. xiii. 16. *But (s) to do good, and to communicate, forget not. For with such sacrifices God is well pleased.* That exhortation is very suitable to Paul's doctrine, and has an agreement with what he says elsewhere: as Philipp. iv. 18. — *An odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice, acceptable, well pleasing to God.* Moreover, as is observed (t) by Grotius upon this text, the word *communicate*, or *communion*, is found in a like sense in the Acts, and in other epistles of St. Paul. See Acts ii. 42. Rom. xv. 26. 2 Cor. viii. 4. ix. 13.

4. In the next place I observe some instances of agreement in the stile, or phrases, of the epistle to the *Hebrews*, and the acknowledged epistles of St. Paul.

1.) Hebr. ii. 4. *God (u) also bearing them witnesse with signs, and wonders, and divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost.*

Signs

(s) Τῆς δὲ εὐποιᾶς καὶ κοινωνίας μὴ ἐπιλανθάνεσθε.

(t) Κοινωνίας vox refertur ad pecunias, et ea, quae pecuniis comparantur. Vide Act. ii. 42. Rom. xv. 26. 2 Cor. viii. 4. ix. 13. Grot. in Hebr. xiii. 16.

(u) Συνεπιμαρτυρῶντος τοῦ θεοῦ σημείοις τε καὶ τέρασι, καὶ ποιήμασι δυνάμεσι, καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου μερισμοῖς.

Signs and wonders, together, seldom occur in other books of the New Testament. But they are found several times in the Acts, and St. Paul's epistles. The phrase is in Matth. xxiv. 14. and Mark xiii. 2. and once likewise in St. John's Gospel. iv. 48. But it is several times in the Acts. ch. ii. 19. iv. 30. . . 43. v. 12. vi. 8. viii. 13. xiv. 3. xv. 12. The most remarkable are these, where there are three different words. Acts ii. 22. . . *A man approved of God among you by (x) miracles, and wonders, and signs.* Rom. xv. 19. . . *Through (y) mighty signs and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God.* 2 Cor. xii. 12. . . . (z) *In signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds.* 2 Thess. ii. 9. (a) *With all power, and signs, and lying wonders.*

2.) Ch. ii. 14. . . . *That through death he might destroy him that had the power of death.* The word, καταργέω, or καταργέσθαι, is, I think, nowhere used in the New Testament, except in Luke xiii. 7. and St. Paul's epistles,

(x) . . . δυνάμει, καὶ τέρασι, καὶ σημείοις.

(y) . . . ἐν δυνάμει σημείων καὶ τεράτων, ἐν δυνάμει πνεύματος θεοῦ.

(z) . . . ἐν σημείοις, καὶ τέρασι, καὶ δυνάμει.

(a) . . . ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει, καὶ σημείοις, καὶ τέρασι ψεύδεσιν.

epistles, where it is several times : and is sometimes used in a sense resembling this place, particularly, 2 Tim. i. 10. *Who has abolished death* : καταργήσαντος μὲν θάνατον. And 1 Cor. xv. 26. Compare Dr. Doddridge's Family Expositor. Vol. IV. upon 1 Cor. xv. 24.

3.) Ch. iii. 1. . . *Holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling* : Philip. iii. 14. . . . *The prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.* 2 Tim. i. 19. . . *Who has called us with an holy calling.*

4.) Ch. v. 12. . . *And are become such as have need of milk, and not of strong meat.* 2 Cor. iii. 2. *I have fed you with milk, and not with meat.* However, in the original, there is no great agreement in the words : except that in both places *milk* is used for the first rudiments of the Christian doctrine.

5.) Ch. viii. 1. . . *Who is set on the right hand of the throne of the majesty on high.* Eph. i. 21. . . *And set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places.*

6.) Ch. viii. 6. ix. 15. and xii. 24. *Jesus Christ is styled mediator.* So likewise in Gal. iii. 19. 20. 1 Tim. ii. 5. and in no other books of the New Testament.

7.) Ch.

7.) Ch. viii. 5. *Who serve unto the example, and shadow of heavenly things. . . καὶ σκιᾶ . . τῶν ἐπεραινίων. x. 1. For the law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things. Σκιὰν ἔχων . . τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν, ἐκ αὐτῆς τῆς εἰκόνα τῶν πραγμάτων. Col. ii. 17. Which are a shadow of things to come. But the body is of Christ. Ὅτι ἐστὶ σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων· τὸ δὲ σῶμα τῆς χριστοῦ.*

8.) Ch. x. 33. *Whilst ye were made a gazing-stock, or spectacle, both by reproaches and afflictions. ὀνειδισμοῖς τε καὶ θλίψεσι θεατριζόμενοι. 1 Cor. iv. 9. For we are made a spectacle unto the world . . . ὅτι θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν τῷ κόσμῳ.*

9.) St. Paul, in (b) his acknowledged epistles, often alludes to the exercises, and games, which were then very reputable, and frequent in Greece, and other parts of the Roman Empire. There are divers such allusions in this epistle, which have also great elegance. So ch. vi. 18. *Who have fled for refuge, to (c) lay hold of the hope set before us,*

(b) See 1 Cor. ix. 24. . . . 26. 1 Tim. vi. 12. 2 Tim. ii. 5. and iv. 7. 8.

(c) Κρατῆσαι τῆς προκειμένης ἐλπίδος : *ad obtinendam spem propositam,*

us, or the reward of eternal life, proposed to animate and encourage us. And ch. xii.

1. *Wherefore seeing we also (d) are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let (e) us lay aside every weight, and the sin which does so easily beset us, and (f) let us run with patience*

propositam, sc. vitam aeternam, Elegantissima metaphora est vocis προκειμένης, e veterum certaminum ratione ducta. Proprie enim προκείσθαι dicuntur τὰ ἄθλα, sc. praemia certaminis, quae publice proponuntur in propatulo, ut eorum adspectus, certaue eorum adipiscendorum spes, certaturos alacriores redderet ad certamen ineundum, victoriamque reportandam : ut interpretabamur supra ad 2 Tim. iv. 8. τὸ ἀποκείσθαι, quod eandem significationem obtinet. J. Tob. Krebsii *Observat. in N. T. e Josepho. p. 377.*

Ego vero puto φύγειν accipi pro συντόνως τρέχειν, et sumtam translationem a gymniciis ludis : quo spectant etiam vocabula κρατῆσαι, καταπετάσματος, et ποδῶδες. Bez. *in loc.*

(d) See Mr. Hallett upon the place. note (u).

(e) Ὅγκον ἀποθέμενοι πάντα deponentes omne pondus. Tota haec oratio translatitia est : quasi nobis in stadio non sine magnis difficultatibus currendum : qua translatione saepe utitur Paulus. In primis igitur monet, ut ὅγκον abjiciamus, quo vocabulo crassa omnis et tarda moles significatur. Bez. *in loc.*

A stadio sumta similitudo : Ibi qui cursuri sunt, omnia quae oneri esse possunt deponunt. &c. Grot. *in loc.*

And see Hallett, as before, note (av).

(f) Τρέχωμεν τὸν προκειμένον ἡμῖν τὸν ἀγῶνα. Loquendi ratio est agonistica, et petita, a cursoribus, qui stadium absolvunt. De voce προκειμαι satis multa afferebamus supra Cap. vi.

patience the race that is set before us. ver. 2. Looking unto Jesus, who (g) for the joy that was set before him, endured the crosse. And ver. 3. Least (b) ye be wearied, and faint in your minds. And ver. 12. Wherefore (i) lift up the hands that hang down, and the feeble knees.

All these texts seem to contain allusions to the celebrated exercises and games of those times. And under each of them I have referred to, or transcribed the notes of

vi. 18. . . . Sensus autem Apostoli est: *Curramus in stadio, nobis proposito ad currendum: voce ἀγών pro loco, sc. stadio sumta. Krebs. ubi supra. p. 390.*

(g) Ὁς ἀντὶ τῆς προκειμένης χαρᾶς. κ. λ. *Vid. Krebs. ib. p. 390.*

(b) Ἴνα μὴ κἄμνητε, ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν ἐκλύομενοι Haec duo verba a palæstra et ab athletic desumpta sunt, qui proprie dicuntur κἄμνην, et ψυχᾷς ἐκλύεσθαι, cum corporis viribus debilitati et fracti, omnique spe vincendi abjecti, victas manus dant adversario. . . . Neque dubium est, quin Apostolus eo respexerit. *Id. ib.*

(i) Διὸ τὰς παρεμμένας χεῖρας καὶ τὰ παραλελυμένα γόνατα ἀνορθώσατε. Quemadmodum Paulus saepissime delectatur loquendi formulis ex re palæstrica petitis; ita dubium non est, quin hic quoque respexisse eo videatur. Athleticis enim et luctatoribus tribuuntur παρεμμένα χεῖρες et παραλελυμένα γόνατα, cum luctando ita defatigati, viribusque fracti sunt, ut neque manus neque pedes officio suo fungi possint, ipsique adeo victos se esse fateri cogantur. *Id. ib. p. 392.*

some learned critics and commentators, tending to illustrate them. And to these may be added, if I mistake not, the place before (k) taken notice of. ch. xii. 4. *You have not yet resisted unto blood, striving (l) against sin.*

10.) Ch. xiii. 9. *Be not carried about with divers and strange doctrines.* Διδαχαῖς ποικίλαις καὶ ξέναις μὴ περιφέρεσθε. Eph. iv. 14. *That we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine: . . . κλυδωνιζόμενοι, καὶ περιφερόμενοι παντὶ ἀνέμῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας.*

11.) Ch. xiii. 10. *We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat.* 1 Cor. ix. 13. *And they that wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar?* And ch. x. 18. *Are not they which eat of the sacrifices, partakers of the altar?*

12.) Ch. xiii. 20. 21. *Now the God of peace . . . make you perfect.* Which is a title of the Deity, no where found in the New Testament, but in St. Paul's epistles. And in them it is several times, and near the conclusion, as here. So Rom. xv. 33. *Now the God of Peace be with you all.* See likewise

(k) See here p. 345.

(l) πρὸς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι.

wise ch. xvi. 20. and Philip. iv. 9. And
1 Thess. v. 23. And *the very God of peace*
sanctify you wholly. And 2 Cor. xiii. 11.
And the God of love and peace shall be with
you.

5. The conclusion of this epistle has a
remarkable agreement with the conclusions
of St. Paul's epistles, in several respects.

1.) He here desires the Christians, to
whom he is writing, to pray for him. ch.
xiii. 18. *Pray for us.* So Rom. xv. 30.
Eph. vi. 18. 19. Col. iv. 3. 1 Thess. v. 25.
2 Thess. iii. 1.

2.) It is added in the same ver. 18. *For*
we trust, we have a good conscience, in all
things willing to live honestly. Which may
well come from Paul, some of the Jewish
believers not being well affected to him, or
being even offended with him. So says (m)
Theodoret upon this place, and Chrysostom (n)
to the like purpose, very largely. To which
might be added ver. 22. *And I beseech you,*

A a 2 *brethren,*

(m) Διαβέβητο αὐτοῖς, ὡς τ' ἀναντία τῷ νόμῳ κηρύττων.
Διδάσκει τοίνυν αὐτοὺς, ὡς ἐκ ἄλλῃ τῆ χάρις τὸ τοιοῦτον ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ
τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ πειθόμενος. Διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ τὴν συνείδησιν εἰς μαρ-
τυρίαν ἐκάλεσε. Theod. in Hebr. xiii. 18. T. 3. p. 461.

(n) In Hebr. xiii. hom. 34. Tom. xii. p. 313. 314.

brethren, to suffer the word of exhortation. It is also observable, that St Paul makes a like profession of his sincerity, in pleading against the Jews, before *Felix*. Acts xxiv. 16.

3.) Having desired the prayers of these Christians for himself, he prays for them. ch. xiii. 20. 21. *Now the God of peace . . . make you perfect . . . through Jesus Christ. To whom be glorie for ever and ever, Amen.* So Rom. xv. 30. . . 32. having asked their prayers for him, he adds ver. 33. *Now the God of peace be with you all. Amen.* Compare Eph. vi. 19. . . 23. and 1 Theff. v. 23. 2 Theff. iii. 16.

4.) Ch. xiii. 24. *Salute all them that have the rule over you, and all the saints. They of Italie salute you.* The like salutations are in divers of St. Paul's epistles. Rom. xvi. 1 Cor. xvi. 19. . . . 21. 2 Cor. xiii. 13. Philip. iv. 21. 22. Not to refer to any more.

5.) The valedictorie benediction at the end is that, which Paul had made the token of the genuinnesse of his epistles. 2 Theff. iii. 18. So here ch. xiii. 25. *Grace (o) be with*

(o) Et hoc ad exemplum Pauli. Eph. vi. 24. Col. iv. 18.
1 Tim.

with you all. Amen. Indeed, sometimes it is *the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you.* But at other times it is more contracted. So Col. iv. 18. *Grace be with you.* 1 Tim. vi. 21. *Grace be with thee.* See likewise Eph. vi. 24. 2 Tim. iv. 22. Tit. iii. 15. The same observation is in (p) *Theodoret.*

6. The circumstances of the epistle lead us to the Apostle *Paul.*

1.) Ch. xiii. 24. *They of Italie salute you.* The writer therefore was then in *Italie.* Whither we know *Paul* was sent a prisoner, and where he resided two years. Acts xxviii. Where also he wrote several epistles, still remaining.

2.) Ver. 19. He desires them *the rather to pray for him, that he might be restored to them the sooner.* *Paul* had been brought from *Judea* to *Rome.* And he was willing to go thither again, where he had been several times. And though the original words are not the same, there is an agreement between

A a 3 this

1 Tim. vi. 21. 2 Tim. iv. 22. Tit. iii. 15. Qui alibi explicat, quae sit illa gratia, nempe Christi. *Grot. in Hebr. xiii. 25.*

(p) Τὸ σύνθετος ἀκροτέλευτον τέθεικε, τὴν τῆς χάριτος μετεσίαν. *Theod. in loc. T. 3. p. 462.*

this and Philem. ver. 22. *I trust, that through your prayers I shall be given to you.* This particular is one of the arguments of *Euthalius*, that (q) this epistle is *Paul's*, and writ to the Jews of *Palestine*.

3.) Ver. 23. *Know ye, that our brother Timothie is set at liberty. With whom, if he come shortly, I will see you.* Timothie was with *Paul*, during his imprisonment at *Rome*, As is allowed by all. For he is expressly mentioned at the begining of the epistles to the *Philippians*, *Colossians*, *Philemon*, writ when he was in bonds. He is mentioned again *Philip. ii. 19.* When the Apostle writes to *Timothie*, he calls him *his son*, or *dearly beloved son.* 1 *Tim. i. 2.* 2 *Tim. i. 2.* But when he mentions him to others, he calls him *brother.* 2 *Cor. i. 1.* *Col. i. 1,* 1 *Theff. iii. 2.* In like manner *Titus*, *Comp. Tit. i. 4.* and 2 *Cor. ii. 13.*

This mention of *Timothie* has led many, not only moderns, but ancients likewise, to think of *Paul*, as writer of the epistle, particularly,

(q) Μαρτυρεῖται δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ὑπάρχουσα πάλιν, τῷ γράφειν, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς δεσμοῖς με συνεπαθήσατε, καὶ ἐκ τε λέγειν, περισσώτερον ἐυχέσθε, ἵνα τάχιον ἀποκατασταθῶ ὑμῖν, *Euthal. ap. Zacagn. p. 670.*

particularly, (r) *Euthalius*. And undoubtedly, many others have been confirmed in that supposition by this circumstance.

The original word, ἀπολελυμένον, is ambiguous, being capable of two senses: one of which is that of our translation, *set at liberty*, that is, from imprisonment: the other is dismissed, *sent abroad on an errand*. In this last sense it was understood by *Euthalius*. Who in the place just cited says, “That scarcely any one can be thought of, beside *Paul*, who would send *Timothie* abroad upon any service of the Gospel.” And indeed this passage doth put us in mind of what *Paul* says to the *Philippians*, ch. ii. 19. *But I trust in the Lord Jesus, to send Timothie shortly unto you, that I also may be of good comfort, when I know your state. Him therefore I hope to send presently, so soon as I shall see how it will go with me. But I trust in the Lord, that I also my self shall come shortly.* ver. 23. 24. Which induced *Beaufobre* to say in the preface to this epistle: “The (s) sacred author concludes

A a 4

“ with

(r) Καὶ ἐκ τῆ λέγειν, γινώσκετε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν τιμόθεον ἀπολελυμένον . . . οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν, ὅμαι, ἀπέλυσεν εἰς διακονίαν τιμόθεον, εἰ μὴ παῦλος. κ. λ. *Euthal. ib. p. 671.*

(s) *Preface sur l'épître aux Hebreux. n. 37. p. 429.*

" with asking the prayers of the *Hebrews*,
 " xiii. 19. *That he may be restored to them.*
 " These words intimate, that he was still
 " prisoner, but that he hoped to be set at
 " liberty. Therefore he adds in the 23.
 " ver. that he intended to come and see
 " them with *Timothie*, as soon as he should
 " be returned. If this explication be right,
 " this epistle was writ at *Rome* some time
 " after the epistle to the *Philippians*, and
 " since the departure of *Timothie* for *Ma-*
 " *cedonia.*"

Thus we are brought to the time of this
 epistle. Nevertheless before I proceed to
 speak distinctly to that, I would conclude the
 argument concerning the writer of it.

All these considerations, just mentioned,
 added to the testimonie of many ancient
 writers, make out an argument of great
 weight, (though not decisive and demon-
 strative,) that the Apostle *Paul* is the writer
 of this epistle.

It should be observed, I have hitherto de-
 clined the use of two arguments, often insist-
 ed upon in discoursing of this point.

One of which is the testimonie of St.
Peter : 2 ep. iii. 15. 16. This I have
 omitted, because I am not satisfied, that
 he

he and the author of this epistle write to the same persons. Nor does it appear certain to me, that St. *Peter* there takes any particular notice of this (t) epistle, as one of *Paul's*. However as many learned men look upon that passage of St. *Peter*, as a full testimonie to *Paul's* being the writer of this epistle; I shall refer to several, or transcribe below, a part at least of what they say: particularly (u) *Mill*, (x) *Spanheim*, and (y) *Basnage*.

The

(t) Says Mr. *Hallett*. Introduction. p. 21. "Some learned men have attempted to prove this point from what St. *Peter* says. 2 Pet. iii. 15. 16. If it could be proved, that he speaks of the epistle to the *Hebrews*, the testimonie of this Apostle would fully determine the dispute. But as I do not think, it can be certainly proved, that he speaks of this epistle, without proving that St. *Paul* was the author of it, I cannot argue from this passage. Those on the other side go upon the supposition, that St. *Peter's* epistles were written to the *Hebrews*, or *Jews*. But it seems to me abundantly more natural to suppose, that they were written to Gentil Christians, if we consider many passages of the epistles themselves."

(u) Et quidem epistolam hanc eam ipsam fuisse, quam ad Hebraeos Christianos miserat Apostolus noster, disertis verbis D. Petri constat. Ep. 2. cap. iii. 15. &c. *Mill. Proleg. num.* 86. . . . 91.

(x) *Vid. Spanhem. Diff. de Aut. ep. ad Hebr. Part. i. cap. ii. . . . v.*

(y) Hebraeis Paulum scripisse, planum est ex posteriore Petri:

The other argument omitted by me is that taken from Hebr. x. 34. *For ye had compassion of me in my bonds.* On this insist (z) Spanheim, (a) Mill, and (b) Basnage, to prove, that this epistle was writ by Paul. But Mr. James Peirce translates the words thus : *For ye sympathized with those who were in bonds.* And in his notes says : " Were it certain, that the common is " the true reading of the place, there " would

Petri : *Paulus pro sibi data sapientia scripsit vobis.* Hebraeos enim adibat scripto Petrus circumcisionis Apostolus. Quae-
nam autem Pauli ad Hebraeos scripta epistola, si nostra non est ? . . . Ipsa igitur est, quae omnium in manibus versatur at-
que oculis. *Basn. ann. 61. num. iv.*

(z) Prima esto circumstantia *vinculorum* illa mentio. Ca-
pite x. ver. 34. . . . Constat enim, soli Paulo, et fere semper,
venisse hoc in usu. Et quas omnes ex Italia transmisit episto-
las, vinculorum suorum mentione quasi distinxit. *Spanh. ib.
P. 2. cap. 4.*

(a) Auctorem habet haec epistola, si qua usquam alia, D.
Paulum. Alloquitur Auctor Hebraeos istos, velut ipse in
carcere memores, ejusque vinculis *συμπαθήσαντας*. Ista A-
postolo nostro congruere, nemo non videt. Hierosolyma ipse
duos ante annos eleemosynas ecclesiarum detulerat, ubi ab
universa illic ecclesia benigne exceptus erat, toto tempore,
quo Caesareae mansit incarceratus. *Mill. Prol. num. 85.*

(b) A manu catenata epistolam in Italia exaratam fuisse,
cernimus et videmus : *vinculis meis mecum affecti fuistis.* Bar-
nabam vero aut Lucam compedibus in Italia fuisse detentos,
veterum in monumentis ne minimâ quidem literâ invenimus.
Basnag. Ann. 61. n. iv.

“ would be little room left to doubt of
“ the epistle’s being writ by St. *Paul*. But
“ the *Alexandrian*, and other manuscripts,
“ of the best note, read here δεσμίαις in-
“ stead of δεσμοῖς *μς*. And the same is con-
“ firmed by ancient versions.” And that
this is the truer reading, may be seen
in *Bengelius*, *Wetstein*, and *Mill* himself:
though in his argument concerning the
author of the epistle, he has been pleased
to argue from the common reading. If
Paul here referred to his Bonds, I should
think, he intended his imprisonment in
Judea, as *Mill* thought, not at *Rome*, as
Basnage does, in the place just cited. I
make no doubt, but that the Hebrew be-
lievers in *Judea* afforded St. *Paul* relief and
comfort, whilst he lay prisoner at *Cesarea*.
But as I do not here discern any plain re-
ference to that, I do not form any argu-
ment from this text, in behalf of the writer
of the epistle.

I say no more by way of argument. But
there are objections, which ought to be con-
sidered.

1. Obj. Hebr. ii. 3. *How shall we escape,*
if we neglect so great salvation, which at the
first

first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him?

Hence it has been argued, - that the writer of this epistle placeth himself with those, who had received the doctrine of the gospel from Christ's Apostles. But *Paul* had it from Christ himself, as he says at large in the first chapter of the epistle to the *Galatians*. This has been thought by (c) *Grotius*, and (d) *Le Clerc*, a good reason, why *Paul* should not be esteemed the writer of this epistle.

To which I answer, that it is not uncommon for *Paul* to joyn himself with those, to whom he is writing, and to say *us*, where he might say *you* : especially, when he says any thing that is humbling, and that might be thought disagreeable. So Col.

i. 12.

(c) Praeterea Paulo hanc epistolam abjudicat, quod hujus scriptor se iis annumeret, qui non a Christo, sed ab ejus discipulis, notitiam evangelii acceperit. cap. ii. 3. Cum contra Paulus auctoritatem sibi addat inde, quod hanc notitiam a Christo ipso acceperit. *Grot. Pr. in ep. ad Hebr.*

(d) Videtur et scriptor epistolae ad Hebraeos cap. ii. 3. &c. eorum numero censerī velle, qui evangelium acceperant ab iis, a quibus auditus erat ipse Christus. . . . Quod in Paulum non quadrat, qui evangelium ab ipso Jesu Christo et Deo accepisse se, non falso gloriatur. Gal. i. *Cleric. H. E. A. D.* 69. p. 459.

i. 12. 13. *Giving thanks to the Father, who . . . has delivered us from the power of darkness. . . .* This I take to be a plain instance. To which might be added, according to the judgement of some Commentators. Eph. ii. 3. and Tit. iii. 3. The note of *Grotius* upon this last cited text may be observed. And now I transcribe below (e) the answer of Mr. *Wetstein* to this objection. Which is in the main agreeable to what I have just said.

I would also observe, that there is another instance in this epistle, much resembling the text, upon which the present objection is founded. Hebr. xii. 1. . . . *Wherefore . . . let*

(e) Hebr. ii. 3. Paulus se iis annumerat, qui notitiam evangelii a discipulis Christi acceperunt: cum tamen ad Galatas non semel testetur, gloriaturque, se non ab hominibus, sed ab ipso Christo fuisse institutum, Gal. i. 1. 12. 17. ii. 6. Ratio discriminis ex modo dictis manifesta est. In epistola ad Galatas id agit, ut auctoritatem suam adstruat: hic autem, ubi de supplicio desertoribus impendente loquitur, ut minus ingrata esset comminatio atque admonitio, seipsum illis annumerat comm. 1. Δὲ ἡμᾶς προσέχειν τοῖς ἀκροθιῶσιν, μὴ ποτε παρρησώμεν . . . πᾶς ἡμεῖς ἐκφειζόμεθα. . . . Postquam igitur ita coepisset, consequens erat, ut in eadem figura pergeret, scriberetque ἡτὶς σωτηρία . . . εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐβλάσθη. Ita Eph. ii. 3. Col. i. 12. 13. Tit. iii. 3. ubi gentium peccata, et poenam imminentem describit, et seipsum illis annumerat. J. J. *Wetsten. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 384.*

let us lay aside every weight, and the sin, which does so easily beset us. . . And this way of writing is fuitable to Paul's stile and method in his acknowledged epistles.

*Secondly, I would farther add, if it might not be esteemed too prolix: that in divers other places we find Paul, when he asserts the resurrection of Jesus Christ, insisting also upon the testimonie of the other Apostles, and likewise of other disciples. Thus, preaching at Antioch in Pisidia, Acts xiii. 30. 31. But God raised him from the dead. And he was seen many days of them, which came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are his witnesses unto the people. And also 1 Cor. xv. at the begining. Which I shall recite largely, as full to the point. Moreover, brethren, I declare unto you the gospel, which I preached unto you, which also ye have received. . . By which also ye are saved. if ye keep in memorie what I preached unto you. . . For I delivered unto you first of all, how that Christ died for our sins, according to the scriptures: and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day, according to the scriptures: and that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve. After that he was
seen*

seen of James, then of all the Apostles. And last of all he was seen of me.

And this context, perhaps, will justify me in proceeding somewhat farther. When St. Paul says 2 Tim. ii. 8. *Remember, that Jesus Christ . . . was raised from the dead, according to my gospel:* he intends, as I apprehend, to lead Timothie to recollect the gospel, that had been preached by him in such and such circumstances, confirmed by miracles wrought by him, and agreeable to the prophecies of the ancient scriptures, and the testimonie of the other Apostles, and disciples of Christ. As he also says at ver. 2. of the same chapter: *The things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses:* literally, *by many witnesses:* that is confirmed by many witnesses. And he may be supposed to intend not only (*f*) the Prophets, which is Grotius's interpretation, but likewise the testimonie of all the Apostles of Christ, and of many others, to which he had appealed in his preaching.

Upon the whole, it seems to me, that the expression of this text is highly becoming

(*f*) Multis adductis testibus prophetis, qui haec praedixerant. Hebr. xii. 1. Grot. in 2 Tim. ii. 2.

ing the Apostle *Paul*, especially, supposing him to be here writing to the believers of *Jerusalem* and *Judea*. And indeed, as before shewn, the begining of this second chapter of the epistle to the *Hebrews* affords, in my opinion, an argument of no small force, that they are the Christians to whom it is sent.

2. Obj. Another objection against this epistle being St. *Paul's* is, that it is supposed to have in it an elegance superior to that of his other writings. This has been judged by *Grotius*, and *Le Clerc*, who were formerly (g) quoted, sufficient to shew, that it was not writ by *Paul*.

In order to judge the better of this, it may be of use to recollect what we have already seen in divers ancient writers, relating to this point.

Eusebius has a passage of *Clement* of *Alexandria*, from his Institutions, at large cited by us (b) formerly: where *Clement* says: "That (i) the epistle to the *Hebrews* is *Paul's*,

(g) See in this Supplement. Vol. i. p. 22.

(b) B, i. ch. 22. Vol. i. p. 471. or 474.

(i) Καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἑβραίους ἐπιστολὴν παύλου μὲν εἶναι φησὶ, γνη-
γράφει

“ *Paul's*, and that it was writ to the *Hebrews*
 “ in the *Hebrew* language : and that *Luke*
 “ having carefully translated it, published it
 “ for the use of the *Greeks*. Which is the
 “ reason of that conformity of stile, which
 “ is found in this epistle and the *Acts* of the
 “ *Apostles*.”

The opinion of *Origen* in his homilies upon this epistle as cited by *Eusebius*, and by us (k) from him, is, “ *that the stile of the epistle*
 “ *to the Hebrews* has not the *Apostle's* rudeness
 “ of speech . . . but as to the texture of it, is
 “ elegant Greek : as every one will allow, who
 “ is able to judge of the differences of stiles.
 “ Again, he says : *The sentiments of the epistle*
 “ are admirable, and not inferior to the ac-
 “ knowledged writings of the *Apostle*. This
 “ will be assented to by every one, who reads
 “ the writings of the *Apostle* with attention.
 “ Afterwards he adds : *If I was to speak my*
 “ opinion, I should say, that the sentiments
 “ are the *Apostle's*, but the language and com-
 “ position

γράφαι δὲ ἑβραίοις ἑβραϊκῇ φωνῇ· λακᾶν δὲ φιλοτίμως αὐτὴν
 μεθερμηνεύσαντα, ἐκδύναι τοῖς ἑλλήσιν. κ. λ. ap. *Euseb. H. E.*
l. 6. c. 14. in.

(k) *Ch. 38. Vol. 3. p. 237. from Euseb. H. E. l. 6. cap. 25.*

“ position another's, who committed to writing
 “ the Apostle's sense, and as it were reduced
 “ into commentaries the things spoken by his
 “ master.” And what follows.

Eusebius (l) himself speaking of Clement's epistle to the *Corinthians*, says: “ Paul having writ to the *Hebrews* in their own language, some think, that the Evangelist Luke, others, that this very Clement, translated it into *Greek*. Which last is the most likely, there being a great resemblance between the stile of the epistle of Clement, and the epistle to the *Hebrews*. Nor are the sentiments of those two writings very different.” This passage has been already twice quoted by us: once in the chapter of Clement (m) Bp. of Rome, and again in that (n) of Eusebius.

Philaster, Bishop of Brescia, about 380. as formerly quoted, says: “ There (o) are some, who do not allow the epistle to the *Hebrews* to be Paul's: but say, it is either an epistle of the Apostle Barnabas,
 “ or

(l) H. E. l. 3. cap. 38.

(m) Ch. ii. Vol. i. p. 56.

(n) Ch. 72. Vol. viii. p. 146.

(o) Vol. ix. p. 374. 375.

“ or of *Clement Bp. of Rome*. But some say
“ it is an epistle of *Luke the Evangelist*. . . .
“ Moreover, some reject it, as more eloquent
“ than the Apostle’s other writings.”

Jerome, about 392. in his article of *St. Paul* in the book of *Illustrious Men*, as (p) before cited also, says: “ The epistle, called
“ to the *Hebrews*, is not thought to be his,
“ because of the difference of the argument,
“ and stile: but either *Barnabas’s*, as *Ter-*
“ *tullian* thought: or the Evangelist *Luke’s*,
“ according to some others: or *Clement’s*,
“ Bishop of *Rome*: who, as some think,
“ being much with him, clothed and a-
“ dorned *Paul’s* sense in his own language,
“ . . . Moreover he wrote as a *Hebrew* to
“ *Hebrews* in pure *Hebrew*, it being his own
“ language. Whence it came to pass, that
“ being translated it has more elegance in the
“ *Greek*, than his other epistles.”

I need not allege here any more testi-
monies relating to this matter. We suf-
ficiently perceive by what has been said,
that many ancient Christians supposed the
Greek of this epistle to have a superior ele-
gance to the received epistles of *St. Paul*.

B b 2

And

(p) See ch. 114. Vol. x. p. 112.

And to some of them the *Greek* was their native language. And others, as *Jerome*, though *Latins*, may be supposed to have been good judges in this matter.

Some learned men of late times, as *Grotius*, and *Le Clerc*, have thought this to be an insuperable objection. Of this opinion likewise was (q) *Jacob Tollius*. Who in his notes upon *Longinus*, of the *Sublime*, has celebrated the sublimity of this epistle, and particularly the elegance of the beginning of it. Which alone he thinks sufficient to shew, that it is not *Paul's*. Others allow the fine contexture of the stile of this epistle. But do not see that consequence. These are obliged to account for it. Which they do several ways.

Mr. *Wetstein*, who allows, that the epistle is

(q) Ejusmodi *σπριγμὸς*, καὶ ἀναπάυσεις statim in initio eloquentissimæ, et nescio annon omnem gentilium scriptorum sublimitatem superantis, certe adæquantis epistolæ ad *Hebraeos* reperiās: quam vel hoc uno *Pauli* non esse probaverim. Sed sunt ἀναπάυσεις illæ non deorsum ruentis orationis, verum contra ea in coelum ascendentis *σπριγμὸς*. Ita vero incipit: Πολυμερῶς, καὶ πολυτρόπως, πάλαι ὁ θεὸς λαλήσας τοῖς πατέραςιν. κ. λ. Ubi tres consequenter sunt positi *Paeones* quarti cum syllaba post singulas remanente, velut ad subsistendum, dum ita in coelum ad Deum velut gradibus scriptor adscendit. *J. Tollius ad Longin. de Sublim. §. 39. not. 22.*

is St. *Paul's*, and that it was writ in *Greek*, thinks, that (*r*) *Paul* having now lived two years at *Rome*, may have improved his *Greek* stile. But in answer to that it may be said, that we have several epistles of *Paul*, writ near the end of his imprisonment at *Rome*, in which we perceive his usual stile.

Again, Mr. *Wetstein* adds: "That (*s*) this is a learned epistle, and may have been composed with more care, and exactness, than letters writ to friends, or to churches, whose urgent necessities obliged him to write in haste." But neither will this, I believe, be sufficient to account for the difference of stile in this, and the epistles, received as *Paul's*. For no care and attention will on a sudden enable a man to alter his usual stile, in a remarkable manner.

It remains therefore, as seems to me, that if the epistle be *Paul's*, and was originally writ in *Greek*, as we suppose, the Apostle

B b 3

must

(*r*) Potuit Paulus aliter scribere, cum esset in Graecia, aliter postea, cum in Italiam translatus ex usu frequentiori linguae Graecae, et Hebraismos vitare, et facilius scribere didicisset. *Weissen. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 385.*

(*s*) Potuit hanc epistolam, quae erudita est, longiori meditatione elaborasse, cum alias ad familiares amicos, vel ad ecclesias, ubi necessitas urgebat, festinantius effudisset. *Ibid.*

must have had some assistance in composing it. So that we are led to the judgement of *Origen*, which appears to be as ingenious, and probable, as any. "The sentiments are the Apostle's, but the language and composition of some one else: who committed to writing the Apostle's sense, and as it were reduced into commentaries the things spoken by his master." According to this account, the epistle is *St. Paul's*, as to the thoughts and matter, but the words are another's. *Jerome*, as may be remembred, said, *He wrote as a Hebrew to Hebrews in pure Hebrew, it being his own language. Whence it came to pass, that being translated, it has more elegance in the Greek, than his other epistles.* My conjecture, which is not very different, if I may be allowed to mention it, is, that *St. Paul* dictated the epistle in *Hebrew*, and another, who was a great master of the *Greek* language, immediately wrote down the Apostle's sentiments in his own elegant *Greek*. But who this assistant of the Apostle was, is altogether unknown.

The ancients, beside *Paul*, have mentioned *Barnabas*, *Luke*, and *Clement*, as writers, or translators of this epistle. But I do not know, that there is any remarkable agreement

agreement between the stile of the epistle to the *Hebrews*, and the stile of the epistle, commonly ascribed to *Barnabas*. The (t) stile of *Clement*, in his epistle to the *Corinthians*, is verbose and prolix. St. *Luke* (u) may have some words, which are in the epistle to the *Hebrews*. But that does not make out the same stile. This epistle, as *Origen* said, *as to the texture of the stile, is elegant Greek*. But that kind of texture appears not in *Luke*, so far as I can perceive. There may be more art and labour in the writings of *Luke*, than in those of the other Evangelists : but not much more elegance, that I can discern. This epistle to the *Hebrews* (x) is bright and elegant from the beginning to the end. And surpasseth as much the stile of St. *Luke*, as it does the stile of St. *Paul* in his acknowledged epistles. In short, this is an admirable epistle, but singular in sentiments and language : some-

B b 4

what

(t) *Clement est diffus. . . &c. Beausf. Pref. sur l'epistre aux Hebreux. num. vii.*

(u) *Lucam autem hujus epistolae scriptorem ostendunt etiam vocabula et loquendi genera quaedam Lucae velut propria. Grot. Praef. in ep. ad Hebr.*

(x) *Tout le monde reconnoit de l'eloquence et de l'elevation dans l'epistre aux Hebreux. Beausf. ibid.*

what different in both respects from all the other writings in the New Testament. And whose is the language, as seems to me, is altogether unknown : whether that of *Zenas*, or *Apollos*, or some other of the Apostle *Paul's* assistants, and fellow-laborers.

3. Obj. There still remains one objection more against this epistle being writ by St. *Paul*. Which is the want of his name. For to all the thirteen epistles, received as his, he prefixeth his name, and generally calleth himself Apostle.

This objection has been obvious in all ages. And the omission has been differently accounted for by the ancients, who received this epistle as a genuine writing of St. *Paul*.

Clement of *Alexandria*, in his Institutions, as cited by us (y) formerly, from *Eusebius*, speaks to this purpose : “ The epistle to “ the *Hebrews*, he says, is *Paul's*. But “ he did not make use of that inscription, “ *Paul the Apostle*. Of which he assigns this “ reason. Writing to the *Hebrews*, who “ had conceived a prejudice against him, “ and were suspicious of him, he wisely “ declined

(y) Vol. ii. p. 474.

“declined setting his name at the beginning,
 “least he should offend them. He also
 “mentions this tradition : Forasmuch as
 “the Lord was sent as the Apostle of Al-
 “mighty God to the Hebrews, *Paul*, out
 “of modestie does not stile himself the
 “Apostle of the Hebrews : both out of re-
 “spect to the Lord, and that being preacher
 “and Apostle of the Gentils, he over and
 “above wrote to the Hebrews.”

Jerome also speaks to this purpose : “That
 (z) *Paul* might decline putting his name in
 the inscription, on account of the *Hebrews*
 being offended with him.” So in the ar-
 ticle of *St. Paul*, in his book of *Illustrious*
Men. In his *Commentarie* upon the be-
 gining of the epistle to the *Galatians*, he
 assigns another reason : “That (a) *Paul*
 declined to stile himself Apostle at the be-
 gining

(z) Vel certe quia Paulus scribebat ad Hebraeos, et prop-
 ter invidiam sui apud eos nominis titulum in principio saluta-
 tionis amputaverat. *De V. I. cap. v.*

(a) Et in epistola ad Hebraeos propterea Paulum solita
 consuetudine nec nomen suum, nec Apostoli vocabulum prae-
 posuisse, quia de Christo erat dicturus : *Habentes ergo Princi-*
pem Sacerdotum, et Apostolum confessionis, Jesum : nec fuisse
 congruum, ut ubi Christus Apostolus dicendus erat, ibi etiam
 Paulus Apostolus poneretur. *In ep. ad Gal. cap. i. T. 4. p.*
225, in.

gining of the epistle to the *Hebrews*, because he should afterwards call Christ *the High-Priest, and Apostle of our profession.*" See ch. iii. i.

Theodoret says, that *Paul* was especially the Apostle of the Gentils. For which he allegeth, Gal. ii. 9. and Rom. xi. 13. "Therefore (*b*) writing to the *Hebrews*, who were "not entrusted to his care, he barely delivered the doctrine of the gospel, without "assuming any character of authority. For "they were the charge of the other Apostles."

I need not quote any others. Which would be only a repetition of the same, or like reasons.

All these reasons may not be reckoned equally good. And, perhaps, none of them are sufficient, and adequate to the purpose. But though we should not be able to assign a good reason, why *Paul* omitted his name; the epistle, nevertheless, may be his. For (*c*) there may have been a good reason for

(*b*) Ἐβραίοις δὲ γράφων, ὥς ἐκ ἐνεχειρίσθη τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, γυμνὴν τῶν ἀξιομάτων ἐκόντως τὴν διδασκαλίαν προσήνεγκεν· ὑπὸ γὰρ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων προμήθειαν ἐτέλεν. *Theod.* in *Hebr.* T. 3. p. 392.

(*c*) Verum est, Paulum omnibus aliis epistolis, si hanc excipias,

for it, though we are not able to find it out. It is the work of a masterly hand. Who for some reason omitted his name. *Paul* might have a reason for such silence, as well as another.

Lightfoot (*d*) says : “ *Paul*’s not affixing his name to this, as he had done to his other epistles, does no more deny it to be his, than the first epistle of *John* is denied to be *John*’s upon that account.”

Tillemont says : “ Possibly (*e*) *Paul* considered it as a book, rather than a letter : since he makes an excuse for it’s brevity. ch. xiii. 22. For indeed it is short for a book, but long for a letter.” The same thought is in (*f*) *Estius*. This may induce

excipias, et nomen suum praeposuisse, et titulos addidisse, quibus sibi auctoritatem conciliaret. Nec tamen inde consequitur, hanc, de qua agimus, *Pauli* non esse. Aut enim dicendum erit, nullius esse, quia nomen nullum praefixum est : aut si alius quis contra morem receptum nomen suum reticere potuit, idem aequo jure etiam *Paulo* licuit. *Wesssen. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 384. med.*

(*d*) See his Works. Vol. i. p. 339.

(*e*) S. *Paul. art. 46. Mem. T. i.*

(*f*) Sed post haec omnia, an vera ratio omissae salutationis est, quod haec epistola scripta est per modum libri, non per modum epistolae ? Unde in fine dicit : *Etenim perpauca scripsi vobis.* Quod de epistola non erat dicturus, cum sit epistola prolixa. *Est. de Auct. Ep. ad Hebr. p. 893.*

duce us to recollect an observation of *Chrysostom* to the like purpose, formerly (g) taken notice of.

It is, I think, observable, that there is not at the begining of this epistle any salutation. As there is no name of the writer, so neither is there any description of the people, to whom it is sent. It appears from the conclusion, that it was sent to some people, in a certain place. And, undoubtedly, they to whom it was sent, and by whom it was received, knew very well, from whom it came. Nevertheless there might be reasons for omitting an inscription, and a salutation, at the begining. This might arise from the circumstances of things. There might be danger of offense in sending at that time a long letter to Jews in *Judea*. And this omission might be in part owing to a regard for the bearer, who too is not named. The only person named throughout the epistle is *Timothie*. Nor was he at that time present with the writer.

Indeed I imagine, that the two great objections against this being a genuine epistle of the Apostle : the elegance of the stile, and the

(g) See Vol. x. p. 322.

the want of a name, and inscription: are both owing to some particular circumstances of the writer, and the people, to whom it was sent. The people, to whom it was sent, are plainly Jews in *Judea*: and the writer, very probably, is *Paul*. Whose circumstances at the breaking up of his confinement at *Rome*, and his setting out upon a new journey, might be attended with some peculiar embarrassments. Which obliged him to act differently from his usual method.

IV. Thus we are brought to the fourth and last part of our inquirie concerning this epistle, the time and place of writing it.

*The Time
and Place
of Writing.*

Mill was of opinion, that (*b*) this epistle was writ by *Paul* in the year 63. in some part of *Italie*, soon after he had been released from his imprisonment at *Rome*. Mr. *Wetstein* (*i*) appears to have been of the same opinion. *Tillemont* (*k*) likewise placeth this epistle in the year 63. immediatly after the
Apostle's

(*b*) Interea, mox ut e carcere evasit Apostolus, recessit in ulteriorem aliquam Italiae partem, ibique scripsit epistolam ad Hebraeos. *Proleg. num* 83.

(*i*) *Wetst. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 387. in.*

(*k*) *S. Paul. art. 46.*

Apostle's being set at liberty. Who, as he says, was still at *Rome*, or at least in *Italie*. *Basnage* (l) speaks of this epistle at the year 61. and supposeth it to be writ, during the Apostle's imprisonment. For he afterwards speaks of the epistle to the *Ephesians*, and says, it (m) was the last letter, which the Apostle wrote during the time of his bonds. *Lenfant* and *Beaufobre*, in their general preface to St. Paul's epistles, observe, " that (n) in the subscription at the end of the " epistle it is said to have been writ from " *Italie*. The only ground of which, as " they add, is what is said ch. xiii. 24. " *They of Italie salute you*. This has made " some think, that the Apostle wrote to the " *Hebrews*, after he had been set at liberty, " and when he was got into that part of *Italie*, which borders upon *Sicilie*, and in ancient times was called *Italie*. Nevertheless there is reason to doubt of this. When " he requests the prayers of the *Hebrews*, " that he might be restored to them the sooner, " he

(l) *Ann.* 61. num. ii. . . . vi.

(m) *Epistolarum omnium, quas primis in vinculis exaravit Apostolus, ea quae ad Ephesios, ultima esse videtur. Ibid. num. vii.*

(n) *Pref. gen. sur les epistres de S. Paul. num. lii.*

“ he intimates, that he was not yet set at liberty.” Accordingly, they place this epistle in the year 62.

There is not any great difference in any of these opinions concerning the time, or place of this epistle : all supposing, that it was writ by the Apostle, either at *Rome*, or in *Italie*, near the end of his imprisonment at *Rome*, or soon after it was over, before he removed to any other countrey.

I cannot perceive, why it may not be allowed to have been writ at *Rome*. St. Paul's first epistle to the *Corinthians* was writ at *Ephesus*. Nevertheless he says ch. xvi. 19. *The churches of Asia salute you.* So now he might send salutations from the Christians of *Italie*, not excluding, but including those at *Rome*, together with the rest throughout that countrey.

The argument of *Lenfant* and *Beaufobre*, that *Paul* was not yet set at liberty, because he requested the prayers of the *Hebrews*, that he might be restored to them the sooner, appears not to me of any weight. Though *Paul* was no longer a prisoner, he might request the prayers of those to whom he was writing, that he might have a prosperous journey to them, whom he was desirous

firous to visit : and that all impediments of his intended journey might be removed. And many such there might be, though he was no longer under confinement. *Paul* was not a prisoner, when he wrote the epistle to the *Romans*. Yet he was very fervent in his prayers to God, that he might have a prosperous journey, and come to them. ch. i. 10.

For determining the time of this epistle, it may be observed, that when the Apostle wrote the epistles to the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*, he had hopes of deliverance. At the writing of all those epistles *Timothie* was present with him. But now he was absent, as plainly appears from ch. xiii. 23. This leads us to think, that this epistle was writ after them. And it is not unlikely, that the Apostle had now obtained that liberty, which he expected, when they were writ.

Moreover in the epistle to the *Philippians* he speaks of sending *Timothie* to them. ch. ii. 19. . . 23. *But I trust in the Lord Jesus, to send Timothie shortly unto you, that I also may be of good comfort, when I know your state. Timothie* therefore, if sent, was to come back to the Apostle. *Him therefore*

fore I hope to send presently, so soon as I shall see, how it will go with me. It is probable, that *Timothie* did go to the *Philippians*, soon after writing the above mentioned epistles, the Apostle having gained good assurance of being quite released from his confinement. And this epistle to the *Hebrews* was writ, during the time of that absence. For it is said Heb. xiii. 23. *Know ye, that our brother Timothie is set at liberty. With whom, if he come shortly, I will see you. . . Know ye, that our brother Timothie is set at liberty: or has been sent abroad.* The (o) word is capable of that meaning. And it is a better, and more likely meaning, because it suits the coherence. And I suppose, that *Timothie* did soon come to the Apostle, and that they both sailed to *Judea*, and after that went to *Ephesus*: where *Timothie* was left, to reside with his peculiar charge.

Thus this epistle was writ at *Rome*, or in *Italie*, soon after that *Paul* had been released

(o) Et quidem paullo post missas hasce [*ad Philippenses*] literas, libertatem adeptus, Timotheum in Macedoniam misit, uti liquet ex Hebr. xiii. 23. . . Neque enim verbis istis significatum vult Apostolus, Timotheum tum temporis, secum una vinculis liberatum fuisse, sed a se ob certa negotia fuisse dimissum. *Mill. Proleg. num. 68.*

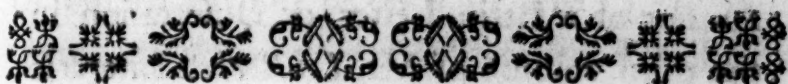
from his confinement at *Rome*, in the beginning of the year 63.

And I suppose it to be the last written of all St. Paul's epistles, which have come down to us, or that we have any knowledge of.

Who was the bearer of it, is not known. At the end of the epistle, in some manuscripts, is a subscription to this purpose: *that it was carried from Italie by Timothie*. But that subscription is esteemed of no authority by all learned men in general, *Beza*, in particular. I put below (*p*) a part of what he says. It is inconsistent with what is said of *Timothie* ch. xiii. 23. *Timothie* was to accompany the writer. The epistle was sent before.

(*p*) Puto igitur hanc subscriptionem non satis considerate adscriptam fuisse a quopiam, qui occasionem ex eo arripuerit, quod Timothei et Itolorum mentio facta fuerat. Nam etiam et in Claromontano codice, et in Syra interpretatione non exstat. *Bez. ad cap. xiii. in fin.*

CHAP.



C H A P. XIII.

*That the epistle, inscribed to the
Ephesians, was writ to them.*

THE epistle to the *Ephesians* is one
of the acknowledged epistles of St.
Paul. There never was any doubt
among Christians, who was the writer. But
there has been, especially of late, a dispute
concerning the persons, to whom it was
sent: some thinking, that the common
inscription is false, and that this is either
a general epistle, or that it was sent to the
Laodiceans. Of this opinion is (a) *Mill*,
in his *Prolegomena* to the New Testament,
who has had many followers. Some of whom
must be here mentioned by me. Mr. *James*

C c 2

Peirce

(a) Quidni igitur scripta fuerit ad Laodicenses ? *Proleg. num.*
74. *vid. ib. num. 71. . . 79. et num. 237.*

Peirce (*b*) who likewise speaks of Mr. *Whiston*, as of the same opinion. The (*c*) Author of a Latin Letter or Dissertation in the third volume of Mr. *La Roche's* Literarie Journal, published in the year 1731. That letter is anonymous. But the writer is *Artemonius*, otherwise *Samuel Crellius*, author of *Initium Evangelii S. Joannis Apostoli restitutum*. This I was assured of by Mr. *La Roche*, the editor. *W. Wall* in his critical Notes upon the New Testament. Dr. *Benson* (*d*). The Author of a letter at the end of the second volume of Dr. *Benson's* Historie of the first planting the Christian Religion. Which learned Author has also since published a Postscript to that letter, which is at the end of the third volume of the same work of Dr. *Benson*. The unknown Author of an edition of the New Testament, in *Greek* and *English*, in two volumes

(*b*) See an *Advertisement* at the end of his *Paraphrase upon the Ep. to the Philippians*. p. 114. &c.

(*c*) See *La Roche's* *Literary Journal* for April, May, and June. 1731. Vol. 3. p. 165. . . . 183. Et Conf. *Artemonii Initium Evangel. S. Joan restitutum*. p. 212. edit. Londini. 1726.

(*d*) See Dr. *Benson's* *Historie of the first planting the Christian Religion*. Vol ii. p. 270. . . . 276. first ed. p. 290. . . . 297. 2d. ea.

volumes octavo, published at *London* in 1729. *Campegius Vitringa*, the Son, Professor of Divinity in the University of *Franequer*, wrote a Dissertation on the same side of the question. And not having therein finished his design, his successor, Mr. *Venema*, added another Dissertation, both-together making more than one hundred and thirty pages in (e) quarto. Lastly, Mr. J. J. *Wetstein* in his notes upon the beginning of this epistle. Who also has put a mark under the text, shewing *Laodicea* to be, in his opinion, the right reading, instead of *Ephesus*. I here mention no more. But perhaps some others may be taken notice of hereafter.

The common reading however has been defended by (f) several. I mention two

C c 3

authors

(e) Dissertat. de genuino titulo epistolae. D. Pauli, quae vulgo inscribitur ad Ephesios. Ap. Campeg. Vitring. Fil. Diff. Sacr. Franequerae. 1731. p. 247. . . 379.

(f) Vid. J. C. Wolf. *Curae in N. T. T.* 4. p. 1. . . . 13. I may be allowed likewise to take notice of a Commentarie upon the epistle to the *Ephesians*, published in the Dutch language, by *Peter Dinant*, a learned Minister at *Rotterdam*, in the year 1721. Of which an honorable account is given in the *Bibliotheca Bremensis*, where we are assured. *Ampla operi praemisit Prolegomena*, in quibus primo loco Apostolum

authors of great note. One is *Le Clerc* (g) in his *Ecclesiastical Historie*, whose words
I have

lum Paulum vere epistolae ad Ephesios scriptorem esse demonstrat. . . . Agit deinde de Epheso, ejusque, cum Apostolus hanc epistolam conscriberet, statu: de Dianae cultu. . . . Hinc refutat Grotium, qui Marcionem secutus non ad Ephesios, sed Laodicenses scriptam hanc epistolam credidit. Sententia quoque Usserii, qui non ad solos Ephesios, sed plures ecclesias destinata, adeoque pro encyclica habendam putat, examinatur, ac rejicitur. *Bibliotheca. Hist. Phil. Theolog. Classis quintae Fasc. tertius. p. 533. 534. Breae 1721.*

(g) Postea scripsit epistolam ad Ephesios, quam viri quidam docti [Joan. Millius, in Prolegom. ad N. T. cujus conjectura paucis, credo probabitur:] suspicantur ad Laodicenos datam, sed sine ullo sat firmo argumento. Volunt quidem in hac epistola quaedam esse, quae Ephesiis non conveniunt, ut cum cap. i. 15. Paulus se *audisse fidem et caritatem* Ephesiorum ait, quas ipse per se norat, non ex auditu. Sed nihil vetat, quin Romae audiverit, Ephesios constanter eas virtutes coluisse, ex quo ipse eos viderat, eoque in hisce verbis respexerit. Similiter, et quae habet cap. iii. 2. *Si tamen audistis dispensationem gratiae Dei, quae data est mihi in vobis*, in Ephesios optime quadrant, si ita intelligantur, ut *si*, Graece *εἰ*, non sit dubitantis, sed adfirmantis, et significet *quandoquidem*, ut cap. iv. 21. et alibi. Ejusdem cap. iii. 4. ait Paulus posse eos, ad quos scribit, *legentes intelligere prudentiam ejus in mysterio Christi*: quam non tam lectione eorum, quae in hac epistola antecefferunt, quam ex praesentis sermonibus intellexerant Ephesii. Sed nihil nos cogit eo confugere. Nam revera poterat hoc intelligi, vel ex iis quae superioribus capitibus leguntur. Alia argumenta, leviora multo, et omnium Christianorum consensui opposita, non adtingam. Quare an ad Ephesios scripta sit haec epistola, nihil est cur dubitemus, *Gleric. H. E. Ann. 62. num. viii.*

I have placed below. He had seen *Mill's* argument, and slighted it. He thought, that few would be moved by it. However, he briefly considers, and answers the principal objections, taken from Eph. i. 15. iii. 2. and 4. As for any other arguments, he says, they are of too little moment to be opposed to the general consent of Christian writers. So that, says he, there is no reason, why we should doubt, whether this epistle was writ to the *Ephesians*.

The other writer is *Whitby*, in his preface to this epistle. A part of which I cheerfully transcribe here. "That this
" epistle to the *Ephesians* was indeed writ-
" ten by St. *Paul*, and directed to them,
" and not to any other church, we can-
" not doubt, if we believe either the epistle,
" or *Paul* himself. For, *first*, it begins
" thus: *Paul an Apostle of Jesus Christ to*
" *the saints which are at Ephesus*. And in
" this reading all the versions, and all the
" manuscripts agree. *Secondly*, in the close
" of the epistle he speaks thus to them:
" *That you may know my affairs, and how*
" *I do, Tychicus, a beloved brother, and*
" *faithful minister in the Lord, shall make*
" *known unto you all things. Whom I have*

“sent unto you for the same purpose. . . . Ch.
 “vi. 21. 22. And in the second epistle to
 “*Timothie* he says: *Tychicus* have I sent to
 “*Ephesus*. 2 Tim. iv. 12. Moreover, *third-*
 “*ly*, all antiquity agrees, that this epistle was
 “writ by *Paul* to the *Ephesians*.” And what
 follows.

Those arguments appear to me a sufficient
 defense of the present reading. Nevertheless
 the other opinion, contrarie to *Le Clerc*’s
 expectation, has of late much prevailed: as
 appears from the number of the patrons of
 it, above named. And as the arguments
 of those two learned men, whose writings
 are well known, have not been judged satis-
 factorie; there can be little reason to expect,
 that any thing said by me should be of much
 weight. And indeed, it has sometimes hap-
 pened, that certain opinions have had a run,
 and it has been in vain to oppose them:
 though afterwards they have fallen of
 themselves, being unsupported by any good
 evidence.

However, as a fair occasion offers, I shall
 enlarge upon the arguments just mentioned,
 in favour of the present reading in our Bibles.
 After which I will particularly consider the
 objections brought against it,

1. The present reading at the begining of this epistle, *to the saints which are at Ephesus, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus*, is the reading of all *Greek* manuscripts, and of all ancient versions, the *Latin, Syriac, Persic, Arabic, Ethiopic*, and all other. It is altogether inconceivable, how there should have been such a general concurrence in this reading, if it had not been the original inscription of the epistle.

2. It may be argued from the epistle itself, that it was writ to the *Ephesians*.

Says the Apostle here ch. ii. 19.... 22. *Now therefore ye are fellow citizens with the saints, and of the houshold of God. And are built upon the foundation of the Apostles, and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone. In whom all the building fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord. In whom you also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit.* It has been observed that (b) St. Paul frequently accommodates his stile to the persons, to whom he is writing. In the first epistle to *Timothie*, sent to him at *Ephesus*, he useth the architect-stile. So, parti-

(b) See Dr. Benson upon 1 Tim. iii. 15.

particularly, ch. ii. 15. In like manner here the Apostle may be well supposed to allude to the magnificent temple of *Diana*, on account of which the people of *Ephesus* much valued themselves, as appears from Acts xix. 27. 28. 34. 35.

I might, perhaps, refer likewise to ch. iii. 18. but forbear, it being an obscure text.

And that the epistle was sent, not to strangers, but to Christians, with whom the Apostle was well acquainted, I suppose to be certain from internal characters. But the shewing that is deferred till by and by.

3. That this epistle was sent to the church at *Ephesus*, we are assured by the testimonie of all catholic Christians in all past ages.

This we can now say with confidence, having examined the principal Christian writers from the first ages to the begining of the twelfth centurie. In all which space of time there appears not one, who had any doubt about it.

The testimonie of some of these is especially remarkable, on account of their early age, or their learning, or some other considerations.

One of them, remarkable for his early age, is *Ignatius*, who was Bishop of *Antioch* in the later part of the first, and the beginning of the second centurie, and suffered martyrdom at *Rome* in the year 107. or, as some think, in 116. In a letter of his to the *Ephesians*, writ at *Smyrna*, as he was going from *Antioch* to *Rome*, he says: “Ye
 “ (i) are the companions in the mysteries of
 “ the gospel of *Paul*, the sanctified, the Mar-
 “ tyr, [or highly commended,] deservedly
 “ most happy, at whose feet may I be found,
 “ when I shall have attained unto God, who
 “ throughout all his epistle makes mention
 “ of you in Christ Jesus.”

He plainly means the epistle of *Paul* to the *Ephesians*, in which the Apostle commends those Christians, and never blames them.

So I wrote in the first edition, in 1734. when I collected the passages of *Ignatius*, bearing testimonie to the books of the New Testament. Afterwards, in 1735. was published the letter above mentioned at the end
 of

(i) Πάυλε συμμύσαι τῷ ἁγιασμένῳ, τῷ μεμαρτυρημένῳ, ἀξιομακαριστῷ. . . ὅς ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ ἰησοῦ. *Ignat. ep. ad Eph. cap. xii.*

of the first edition of Dr. *Benson's* History of the first planting the Christian Religion. Which occasioned my adding a note upon that quotation from *Ignatius*, at p. 154. . . 156. of the second edition of the first volume of this work, in 1748.

“ The learned writer of that letter, instead of *μνημονεύει ὑμῶν* would read *μνημονεύω ὑμῶν* : meaning, that *Ignatius* himself mentioned the *Ephesians* in every epistle. In answer to which I said, that conjecture appears to be without foundation : forasmuch as in all the editions of *Ignatius's* epistles the verb is in the third person : not only in the Greek of the smaller epistles, which I translate, but also in the old Latin version of the same small epistles. Qui in omni epistola memoriam facit vestri in Jesu Christo. So likewise in the Greek interpolated epistles, and in the Latin version of the same. There is therefore no various reading. And a new one ought not to be admitted, unless the sense should require it. Which it does not appear to do here. For *Ignatius* is extolling the *Ephesians*. And one part of their glorie is, that the Apostle throughout his epistle to
“ them

“them had treated them in an honorable
“manner.”

So I wrote in the note just referred to. And though that learned writer has been since pleased to publish a postscript to his letter, he has not produced any manuscript, or version of this epistle of *Ignatius*, where the verb is found in the first person.

However, in order to support his proposed reading he excepts to our interpreting the word *μνημονεύω*, of an honorable mention. In answer to which I did in the same note produce proof of the word's being used sometimes for an honorable, or affectionate mention or remembrance. And the noun *μνημόσυνον*, is evidently thrice used in the New Testament for an honorable memorial. Matt. xxvi. 13. Mark xiv. 9. Acts x. iv. Of these examples I have been reminded by a learned friend.

That learned author excepts likewise to our interpretation of *ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ*, *throughout all his epistle*, and would translate, *who make mention of you in every epistle*: that is, as he understands it, *Ignatius* tells the *Ephe-
sians*, to whom he is writing, that he made mention of them in every one of his epistles. In answer to which I said in the above men-
tioned

tioned note, that *Pearson* had well defended the interpretation, for which we contend. And I alleged a part of the note of *Cotelerius* upon this passage of *Ignatius*. But by some means *Valesius* is printed there, instead of *Cotelerius*. I now transcribe that note of *Cotelerius* at length. Frustra sunt, et Andabatarum more digladiantur viri literati, non videntes, ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ esse in tota epistola, ad Ephesios nimirum scripta, quâ illos laudat valde, ac semper commendat, ut fuit ab Hieronymo observatum. And I shall place here two instances of the use of the word πᾶς, which appear to me altogether similar, and therefore to the purpose. One is taken from the fifth chapter of *Ignatius's* epistle to the *Ephesians*, where he says: If the prayer of one or two be of such force, how much more that of the Bishop, and the whole church." καὶ πάσης ἐκκλησίας. The other is in *St. Paul's* epistle to the *Ephesians*. ch. ii. 21. In whom all the building, or the whole building, fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple to God. Ἐν ᾧ πᾶσα οἰκοδομὴ κ. λ.

Indeed, *Ignatius* has mentioned the *Ephesians* in every one of his epistles, except that to *Polycarp*. But it is very unlikely, that
this

this should be his meaning here. He is extolling the *Epheſians*, as companions of *Paul* in the mysteries of the gospel, and the like. To say to them presently afterwards, and in the same period, that *he made mention of them in every one of his epistles*, would have an appearance of much vanity: with which, I think, *Ignatius* was never charged. And at the same time it would be very flat and insipid. Moreover, it is observable, that this is not one of the last epistles, which *Ignatius* wrote. But, according to the order, in which they are mentioned (*k*) by *Eusebius*, it is the very first of his seven epistles.

There is therefore no reason, why we should hesitate to admit the sense, in which this place has been generally understood by learned men.

We also find this sense in some ancient writers. *Jerome* observes, that (*l*) when
the

(*k*) *Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. 3. cap. 36. and this work. Vol. i. p. 147. 148.*

(*l*) *Corinthii, in quibus audiebatur fornicatio qualis nec inter gentes, lacte pascuntur, quia necdum poterant solidum cibum capere. Ephesii autem, in quibus nullum crimen arguitur, ab ipso Domino coelesti vescuntur pane, et sacramentum quod a seculis absconditum fuerat agnoscunt. Ep. ad Marcell. T. 2. p. 628. ed. Martian. . . . animadvertat magnam*

the Apostle wrote to the *Corinthians*, he had occasion to blame them for fornication, and for strifes and contentions : but there is no fault found by him in the *Ephesians*. To the like purpose *Primasius* in (m) the preface to his *Commentarie* upon St *Paul's* epistles, and (n) in his argument of the epistle to the *Ephesians*, in particular.

So that either those ancient writers understood *Ignatius*, as we do. Or else, they were led by the epistle itself to form the same idea of it, that we suppose him to have had.

What *Ignatius* means by the Apostle's mentioning, or being mindfull of the *Ephesians* throughout all his epistle to them, is happily explained by Bp. *Pearson*. Whose (o) words I shall

nam inter Corinthios et Ephesios esse distantiam. Illis quasi paryulis atque lactentibus scribitur : in quibus erant dissensiones, et schismata, et audiebatur fornicatio qualis ne inter gentes quidem. . . Ephesii vero, apud quos fecit triennium, et omnia eis Christi aperuit sacramenta, aliter erudiuntur. &c. *In ep. ad Eph. cap. v. T. iv. P. i. p. 389. 390.*

(m) Ephesii sane nulla reprehensione, sed multa sunt laude digni, quia fidem apostolicam servaverunt. *Primas. Praef. ad Comm. in S. Pauli Ep. ap. Bib. PP. T. x. p. 144. H.*

(n) Ephesii sunt Asiani. Hi accepto verbo veritatis perstiterunt in fide. Hos conlaudat Apostolus, scribens eis Roma a carcere. *Argum. ep. ad Eph. ib. p. 217. A.*

(o) . . . quae scripsit S. Ignatius, S. Paulum in tota epistola, *memoriam*

I shall transcribe below, as his work is not in every body's hands. Indeed this is a proper character of this epistle, as may be easily perceived. Nor did any of the ancients for that reason hesitate to allow, that it was sent to the church at *Ephesus*.

I hope, that I have now justified the present reading, and common interpretation of this passage of *Ignatius*.

The learned writer, with whom I have been arguing, concludes his postscript in this manner. "Should what has been offered, not prove satisfactory, the difficulty will still remain, how to reconcile
" the

memoriam eorum facere in Jesu Christo. Haec a martyre non otiose aut frigide, sed vere, imo signanter et vigilanter dicta sunt. Tota enim epistola ad Ephesios scripta ipsos Ephesios, eorumque honorem et curam maxime spectat, et summe honorificam eorum memoriam ad posteros transmittit. In aliis epistolis Apostolus eos ad quos scribit, saepe acriter objurgat. . . . aut parce laudat. . . . Hic omnibus modis perpetuo se Ephesius applicat, illosque tanquam egregios Christianos tractat, evangelio salutis firmiter credentes, et Spiritu promissionis obsignatos, concives sanctorum, et domesticos Dei. Pro iis saepe ardentem orat, ipsos hortatur, obtestatur, laudat, utrumque sexum sedulo instruit, suum erga eos singularem affectum ubique prodit. *Pearson. Vind. Ignat. Part. 2. cap. x. sub init.*

“ the present reading, in *Ignatius*, with Dr.
 “ *Mill*’s reasons against *St. Paul*’s epistle
 “ being written to the *Ephesians*. . . . The
 “ most plausible solution of which seems
 “ to be that in *Mr. Locke*. . . .” And what
 there follows to the end.

I think, we should cheerfully accept of
Mr. Locke’s, or any other reasonable solution
 of the difficulty, if there be any. This, so
 far as I am able to judge, is better, than to
 attempt the alteration of a passage in an
 ancient author, without the authority of any
 manuscript: when there is nothing in the
 coherence, that necessarily requires it. And
 much better, than to alter a text of an
 epistle of the New Testament, contrarie to
 the authority of all manuscripts, and the con-
 curring testimonie of all ancient Christian
 writers.

Beside that passage, there are in *Ignatius*’s
 epistle to the *Ephesians*, many allusions and
 references to *St. Paul*’s epistle to the *Ephesi-
 ans*. Which shews, that he believed, that
 epistle to have been writ to the church at
Ephesus. Those allusions, (though not all of
 them) were taken notice of by us long (p)
 ago.

(p) See *Vol. i. p. 169. . . . 172. first ed. p. 168. . . . 170.*
2d. ed.

ago. And Dr. *Jortin* having observed, that (q) *Ignatius* in his xii. chapter takes notice of St. *Paul's* epistle to the *Ephesians*, and his martyrdom, adds: "And as he was writing to the same church, he often alludes to the Apostle's letter to them."

But there is one word in that twelfth chapter of *Ignatius's* epistle to the *Ephesians*, of which I have not yet taken sufficient notice. I mean the word *συμμύσται*. Ye are, says he, the companions of *Paul* in the mysteries of the gospel: or ye are partakers of the mysteries of the gospel with *Paul*. This is said out of a regard to St. *Paul's* epistle to the *Ephesians*. And it fully shews, that *Ignatius* thought, that epistle to have been sent to the church, to which himself was then writing. For that is their distinguishing character: at least it is a character, which is more especially the character of the Christians, to whom that letter is writ.

I formerly (r) gave an account of *Palladius*, author of a Dialogue of the Life of *Chrysostom*, about the year 408. In that

D d 2

work

(q) See the first Volume of his *Remarks upon Ecclesiastical History*. p. 56.

(r) Vol. xi. p. 59.

work *Palladius* has an argument, in which he observes, " That *Paul* had called the *Cretians* liars. *Tit.* i. 12. the *Galatians* stupid. " *Gal.* iii. 1. and the *Corinthians* proud. " *1 Cor.* v. 2. On the other hand (*s*) he " calls the *Romans* faithful, the *Ephesians* " *μύσται*, initiated, to whom also he writes in " a sublime manner, and the *Thessalonians* " lovers of the brotherhood."

When *Palladius* says, that *St. Paul* called the *Romans* faithful, it cannot be doubted, that he refers to *Rom.* i. 8. And when he says, that the *Thessalonians* were called lovers of the brotherhood, he must intend *1 Theff.* iv. 9. 10. When he speaks of the *Ephesians* as initiated, it may not be so easie to determine the text, particularly intended by him. But, probably, it is *Eph.* i. 9. or that, joyned with others, such as ch. iii. 3. 4. . . 6. and 9. and v. 32. vi. 16. For in this epistle the word *mysterie* occurs frequently.

However, hereby we are assured, that
this

(*s*) . . . ἢ ἀνάπαλιν πιστὸς ῥωμαῖος ἀποκαλῶν, καὶ μυστὰς ἑορσίους, οἷς καὶ ὑψηλότερον ἐπισέλλει, καὶ φιλαδέλφους θεσσαλονικῆς, μόνοις περιέγραψεν τὸς ἐπαίνους; ἢ πάντως. *Pallad. apud Chrys. T.* 13. p. 71. E.

this was, especially, the character of the Christians at *Ephesus*. And we plainly perceive, that *Ignatius* supposed, that epistle to have been writ to them.

Nor will my readers, possibly, blame me for prolixity, if I here allege a passage of *Jerome*: where he says, “That (t) still there are in the churches remainders of the same virtues, or vices, for which they were remarkable of old. The *Romans* are still faithfull, and devout, the *Corinthians* proud, the *Galatians* stupid, the *Thessalonians* lovers of the brotherhood.” In that place *Jerome* says nothing particularly of the *Ephesians*. But in his Commentarie upon the epistle to

D d 3

them

(t) Usque hodie eadem vel virtutum vestigia permanent, vel errorum. Romanorum laudatur fides. Ubi alibi tanto studio et frequentia ad ecclesias, et ad martyrum sepulchra concurritur? . . . Non quod aliam habent Romani fidem, nisi hanc quam omnes Christi ecclesiae: sed quod devotio in eis major sit, et simplicitas ad credendum. . . . Corinthios quoque notat, quod indifferenter vescantur in templis, et inflati sapientia seculari, resurrectionem carnis negant. . . . Macedones in charitate laudantur, et hospitalitate, ac susceptione fratrum. Unde ad eos scribitur. *De charitate autem fraternitatis, non necesse habemus scribere vobis. Ipsi enim vos a Deo didicistis, ut diligatis invicem. Etenim facitis illud in omnes fratres in universa Macedonia. In ep. ad Gal. Pr. 2. T. 4. p. 255.*

them he often observes, that (*u*) no epistle of St. Paul was fuller of mysteries: which occasioned obscurity, and rendred it very difficult to be explained. And in a place already cited he says of the *Ephesians*, that they had (*x*) received the mysterie hid from ages: that is, they were initiated, or were partakers of the mysteries of the gospel with Paul. And to the like purpose in several passages, just transcribed at the bottom of the page,

By

(*u*) Satis abundeque ostendi, quod beatus Apostolus ad nullam ecclesiarum tam mystice scripserit, et abscondita seculis revelaverit sacramenta. *Pr. 3. in ep. ad Eph. T. 4. p. 375.*

Non vobis molestum fit, si diu in obscurioribus immoremur, Causati enim in principio sumus, inter omnes Pauli epistolas, hanc vel maxime, et verbis et sensibus involutam. *Comm. in ep. ad Eph. Ib p. 369.*

Decenter quoque Ephesiis, qui ad scientiae summam conscenderant, scribitur, quod sint lux in Domino. *In cap. v. p. 383.*

Ephesii vero, apud quos fecit triennium, et omnia eis Christi aperuit sacramenta, aliter erudiuntur. *Ib. p. 390.*

Haec idcirco universa replicuimus, ut ostenderemus, quare Apostolus in hac vel potissimum epistola obscuros sensus, et ignota seculis sacramenta congesserit. *Pr. i. in ep. ad Eph. ib. p. 322.*

(*x*) Ephesii . . . sacramentum quod a seculis absconditum fuerat agnoscunt. *Vid. supr. p. 399. not. (1),*

By all which, I think, it must appear very evident, that *Ignatius* supposed, St. *Paul's* epistle to the *Ephesians* to have been really writ to them. And his judgement is decisive. For he could not be mistaken. So says the writer of the letter above mentioned. Whose words are these: "I have
 " been the longer, says he, upon these passages of *Ignatius*, by reason of the weight,
 " his authority might justly claim in this case, was it certain, that he had spoken
 " of this epistle of *Paul*, as written by him to the *Ephesians*. For if this epistle was
 " writ in the ninth year of *Nero*, and that of *Ignatius* in the tenth of *Trajan*, as Bp. *Pearson* placeth them, the distance of time
 " will be but forty five years. So that *Ignatius*, being then far advanced in age,
 " could not well be ignorant of the truth of this matter. And besides, *Onesimus* was
 " Bishop of *Ephesus* at the time *Ignatius* wrote his epistle to that church, is mentioned in it, and had lately made *Ignatius*
 " a visit. So that had there been any doubt concerning this affair, he could easily have
 " set him right."

It might have been added, that (y) *Ignatius*,

D d 4

Ignatius,

(y) *Vid. ep. ad Eph. cap. ii.*

Ignatius, at the time of his writing his epistle to the *Ephesians*, had with him *Burrhus*, a Deacon of the church at *Ephesus*, and *Cro-cus*, *Eupbus*, and *Fronto*, all members of the church at *Ephesus*, who were then with him at *Smyrna*. Who likewise, as may be supposed, afterwards carried his letter to *Ephesus*.

If therefore by what has been said it appears evident, that *Ignatius* has spoken of this epistle of *Paul*, as writ to the *Ephesians*, (as I think he does,) we have made out what must be reckoned of great weight in this matter.

However, it is not *Ignatius's* testimonie only, that is decisive. There are many other ancient writers, whose testimonie also is satisfactory, and decisive.

For by *Irenaeus*, *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Cyprian*, writers of the second and third centuries, this epistle is expressly quoted as writ by *Paul* to the *Ephesians*. They so quote this epistle, without hesitation, as freely, and plainly, as they do the epistles to the *Romans*, the *Galatians*, the *Corinthians*, or any other of the acknowledged epistles of *St. Paul*.

It

It is quoted in the like manner by all writers in general, of every age, Latins, Greeks, and Syrians. I would particularly observe, that it is so quoted by *Jerome*, who also wrote a commentarie upon this epistle, and had seen many ancient manuscripts and editions of the New Testament. Who never expresseth any doubt, whether this epistle was writ to the *Ephesians*, nor takes notice of any various reading in the inscription of it. For which I refer to his chapter, in the tenth volume of this work. This epistle is quoted in the like manner by *Athanasius*, *Epiphanius*, *Gregorie Nazianzen*, and all the writers of every age, and of different, and remote countreys.

We may also observe here, that in the fifth centurie, there were some Christians, who had a notion, that this epistle was writ to the *Ephesians*, before the Apostle had seen them. It is likely, that this notion was founded upon Eph. i. 15. Nevertheless, they still thought the epistle to have been writ to the *Ephesians*. Which is a proof, that they knew nothing to the contrarie, and had never heard of any various reading in the inscription of this epistle.

Among

Among these is *Euthalius*, who (*α*) in his prologue to St. *Paul's* epistles considers the two epistles to the *Romans* and *Ephesians*, as epistles writ to Christians, whom the Apostle knew by report only. This is remarkable, It shews, that he had no various reading in this place. If he had, he would have taken notice of it. *Euthalius* was a learned man. He put out an accurate edition of the Catholic Epistles, and of St. *Paul's* epistles, with a general prologue to them. And (*α*) he had consulted, beside others, the manuscripts in the librarie at *Cesarea* in *Palestine*. Nevertheless he had not met with any various reading.

And in the Argument of the epistle to the *Ephesians*, now placed in the edition of *Euthalius*, it is said, that (*β*) the epistle to the *Ephesians* was sent by *Paul* from *Rome* to them, when he had not yet seen them, and had only heard of them. I do not ascribe
this

(*α*) Πέμπτη ἡ πρὸς ἑφεσίους κῆται, πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ παραμένονταί, ἧς ἐν τῇ προγραφῇ τὸ μυσῆριον ἐκτίθεται, παραπλησίως τῇ πρὸς ῥωμαίους· ἀμφοτέροις δὲ ἐκ ἀκοῆς γνωρίμοις. *Euthal. ap. Zacagn. p. 524.*

(*α*) See *Vol. xi. p. 206. and Vol. v. p. 334.*

(*β*) Ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει ἀπὸ ῥώμης, ἔτι μὲν ἑωρακὼς αὐτοὺς, ἀκούσας δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν. *Arg. ep. ad Eph. ib. p. 633.*

this argument to *Euthalius*. The reasons were assigned (c) formerly. *Euthalius* wrote a prologue to St. *Paul's* epistles. But it does not appear, that he wrote arguments to each of his epistles severally. The same thing is also said of the epistle to the *Ephe-
sians* in the (d) Synopsis of Scripture, ascribed to *Athanasius*. These I reckon one and the same, but different from *Eutha-
lius*.

And I may here take notice of a small in-
accuracie in Mr. *Wetstein*, who (e) in his
notes upon the begining of the epistle to the
*Ephe-
sians* quotes both the prologue to St.
Paul's epistles, and the Argument of the
epistle to the *Ephe-
sians* in particular, as *Eutha-
lius's*: though in his Prolegomena, in
his account of what *Euthalius* had done, he
had observed, and rightly, that (f) those
Arguments were not composed by *Euthalius*,
but by another.

I therefore here suppose two, that is, *Eutha-
lius*, and another, who wrote the Argu-
ments

(c) See Vol. xi. p. 207. . . . 210.

(d) Ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει ἀπὸ ῥώμης, ἔγω μὲν αὐτὸς ἑωρακώς,
ἀκρίβως δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν. Ap. Athan. T. 2. p. 194. ed. Bened.

(e) Vid. N. T. Vol. 2. p. 238.

(f) Vid. ejusd. Prolegom. Vol. i. p. 75.

ments of St. *Paul's* epistles severally. Who may be the same that composed the Synopsis ascribed to *Athanasius*.

However, beside these there may have been about this time some others of the same opinion. For *Theodoret* in his preface to the epistle to the *Ephesians* observes, there (g) were some, who said, that *Paul* wrote to the *Ephesians*, before he had seen them. But he shews it to be a false and absurd opinion, and concludes, saying: "It (h) is manifest therefore, that the Apostle had preached the gospel to them, before he wrote to them."

This affords a good argument, that there was not in the fifth centurie, nor before, any notice, or apprehension of a various reading in the inscription of this epistle. For if there had, none would have admitted so absurd a supposition, that *Paul* wrote from *Rome* an epistle to the *Ephesians*, before he had seen them.

Another thing deserving notice here is, that before the end of the fourth centurie there

(g) . . . τὸν δὲ θεϊότατον παῦλον μηδέπω τὰς ἐφεσίς τε θεαμένον, τὴν δὲ ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς αὐτὸς γεγραφέναι. *Theod. T.* 3. p. 290.

(h) Δέδεκται ἄρα σαφῶς, ὡς προκηρύξας αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὅτως γέγραφε τὴν ἐπιστολήν. *Ib.* p. 292.

there was forged an epistle to the *Laodiceans*, ascribed to *Paul*. For (i) it is expressly mentioned by *Jerome* in his Book of Illustrious Men, writ about 392. Which must induce us to think, that the epistle to the *Ephesians* was never called the epistle to the *Laodiceans*. For then there could have been no pretense for forging another with that title, to verify a false interpretation of Col. iv. 16.

I should now proceed to another argument. But I must look back, to secure this, taken from the testimonie of ancient Christian writers. For it has been argued from a passage of *St. Basil*, in his books against *Eunomius*, that he had seen some ancient manuscripts of this epistle, in which these words, *at Ephesus*, were wanting. That passage, as cited formerly, is thus: “ And
“ *Paul* writing to the *Ephesians*, as truly
“ united to him *who is*, through knowledge,
“ called them in a peculiar sense *such who*
“ *are*, saying: *To the saints who are, and*
“ [or even] *the faithfull in Christ Jesus.*
“ For so those before us have transmitted
“ it

(1) Legunt quidam et ad Laodicenses. Sed ab omnibus exploditur. *De V. I. Cap. v.*

“it, and we have found it in ancient “copies.” This point having been already examined by us largely, I refer to what was then (k) said. It was then argued by us, that St. *Basil* does not here intimate, that the word, or words, *at Ephesus*, were wanting in any copies seen by him. And I would now observe farther, that our account of this passage is confirmed by the works of other authors, both before, and after *Basil*. There had lived many learned Christian writers before his time. There were many learned Christians contemporarie with him: as his own brother, *Gregorie Nyssen*, *Gregorie Nazianzen*, *Amphilochius*, and others: and also soon after him, as *Theodoret*, and *Euthalius*: not now to mention *Jerome*, or other learned Latin authors. None of whom have said, that the words, *at Ephesus*, were wanting in any copies, which they had seen. The various reading therefore, intended by *Basil*, must have been somewhat less, a small matter, not any thing like ἐν ἐφέσω, *at Ephesus*. For so remarkable a reading could not have been passed by in silence, unobserved by all others.

(k) See Vol. ix. p. 115. . . . 122.

others. And every one may see, that in this very place, as well as elsewhere, *Basil* cites this epistle, as writ by *Paul* to the *Ephesians*. And they are the Christians, of whom *Paul* had said, that through knowledge they were united to him *who is*.

In the place, to which I referred just now, I gave an account of a Dissertation of *Lenfant*, vindicating the common reading. Which was approved by *Wolffius*, and others. However, Mr. *Kuster* was not satisfied. And in the preface to his edition of *Mill's* New Testament, he says, "That (1) the argument, or interpretation of *Basil*, depends upon a supposition, that the words, *at Ephesus*, were wanting in the inscription of this epistle. Otherwise the Christians, to whom that epistle is sent, could not have been reckoned more especially united to him who is, or called *such who are*, rather than the *Romans*, or *Philippians*, or any other Christians, to whom *Paul* wrote."

To which I answer: that is saying all,
and

(1) Nec magis ἰδιαζόντως Apostolus Ephesios, ex sensu Basilii, vacaverit ὅντας quam Romanos, Philippeneses, etc. ad quos scribens eodem plane loquendi formula utitur. *Kuster*.

and the only thing, that can be said, in behalf of the supposition, that the words, *at Ephesus*, were wanting in some copies, which *Basil* had seen. But though this may seem specious and plausible, it is not conclusive. We have perceived from *Palaadius*, and *Jerome* lately alleged, that there were some, who appropriated certain characters to divers churches. The *Romans* were especially called faithfull, the *Ephesians* initiated, and knowing, and the *Thessalonians* lovers of the brotherhood. But it cannot be thence concluded, that other Christians were not entitled to the same characters: or that the same things might not be also said of them. As may appear to any one, who does but look into *St. Paul's* epistles. In which the faith of other churches is spoken of, beside that of the *Romans*. And others, beside the *Thessalonians*, are supposed to have been lovers of the saints, or the brotherhood. Says the Apostle 1 *Thess.* i. 3. *Remembering without ceasing your work of faith, and labour of love.* 2 *Thess.* i. 4. *So that we ourselves glory in you, in the churches of God, for your patience and faith in all your persecutions.* 2 *Cor.* viii. 7. *As ye abound in every thing, in faith. . . . Eph.* i. 1. *To the saints*
which

which are at *Ephesus*, and to the faithfull in *Christ Jesus*. ver. 15. Wherefore, . . . after I heard of your faith in the Lord *Jesus*, and love unto all the saints. Col. i. 2. To the saints, and faithfull brethren in *Christ*, which are at *Colosse*. *Philem*. ver. 5. Hearing of thy love, and faith, which thou hast toward the Lord *Jesus*, and toward all saints. And others, beside the *Ephesians*, were partakers of the mysteries of the gospel, with the Apostle. See Rom. xi. 25. 1 Cor. ii. 6. 7. Col. i. 25. . . . 27. ii. 2. iv. 3.

That is the very observation of *Palladius* in the place above cited: that when the Apostle blames some for certain vices, and commends others for certain virtues, he by no means intends to intimate, that those vices, or those virtues, were peculiar to the persons blamed, or commended by him.

The *Romans* were called by some in ancient times in an especial manner faithfull, the *Ephesians* initiated, and the *Thessalonians*, or *Macedonians*, lovers of the brotherhood. But they were not so, exclusive of others. For all the Churches, or Christians, to whom *Paul* wrote, were faithfull, and initiated, or partakers, with him in the mysteries of the gospel, and lovers of the saints, or brother-

hood: though they might be reasonably exhorted to abound therein more and more. As are the *Thessalonians* themselves, 1 ep. ch. iv. 10. See also iii. 12. And indeed, if such properties did not belong to them, they could not have been Christians. Nevertheless, when these several characters had been applied to some, particularly, it is likely, that few would scruple to follow the same way of speaking, if there was occasion.

So in the present case, that observation in *Basil* having been applied to the *Ephesians* by some men of no great judgement, it was left there, and not applied to any others. Indeed it is an impertinent observation, as *Jerome* (m) calls it. And, as it seems, was made use of by a few only. But it might have been as properly said of other Christians, as of the *Ephesians*.

One thing more I add here. They who are for leaving out the words, *at Ephesus*, must read the place in this manner: *to such as are saints, and faithfull in Christ Jesus*. Then this should be a general epistle, not directed to any one place, but to good Christians

(m) See Vol. ix. p. 118. 119. note (p).

tians every where. But that it is not a general epistle, is manifest from Eph. vi. 21. 22. without insisting now on any other places. *But that ye may also know my affairs, and how I do, Tychicus a beloved brother, and faithful minister in the Lord, shall make known unto you all things. Whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that ye might know our affairs, and that he might comfort your hearts.* This plainly shews, that the epistle had not a general inscription, to *saints and faithfull men*, but was inscribed to the saints of some place. And who should they be, but the saints and faithfull at *Ephesus*: to whom it is inscribed in all Greek manuscripts, and in all versions, and in all catalogues of the books of the New Testament, whether composed by Councils, or others?

4. Once more. St. Paul himself says 2. Tim. iv. 12. *And Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus*, very probably referring to this epistle, as (n) was shewn some while ago. This is what *Whitby* intends at the beginning of his preface to this epistle, before transcribed. "That this epistle to the *Ephesians* was indeed written by St. Paul, and directed to

E e 2

" them,

(n) See before. p. 211. 212.

“ them, and not to any other church, we
 “ cannot doubt, if we believe either the epi-
 “ stle, or *St. Paul* himself.” By the testimo-
 nie of *the epistle* he means the inscription at
 the begining, where is *at Ephesus*, in all ma-
 nuscripts and versions. By the testimonie of
St. Paul himself he means what is said 2. Tim.
 iv. 12. quoted above.

Having finished the argument in favour
 of the genuinness of the common inscription
 of this epistle, which to me appears suffici-
 ent, and satisfactorie: I now propose to con-
 sider objections, which have been raised by
Mill, and others.

I Obj. “ It is said, that there are in this
 epistle divers expressions, not suited to the
 Christians at *Ephesus*, where *Paul* had been
 twice, and spent there almost three years.
 See Acts xviii. 19. . . 21. xix. and xx. 1. and
 17. . . . 38.”

Says Mr. *Peirce* in the place before re-
 ferred to, representing *Mill's* argument:
 “ He has proved it highly improbable, that
 “ the epistle was at first writ to the *Ephesi-*
 “ *ans*. *St. Paul* had resided among them,
 “ and kept back nothing that was profitable
 “ unto them. . . . How then could he write to
 “ them,

“ them, as though he had never seen, or
 “ been among them, but only had heard of
 “ them? Eph. i. 5. *Wherefore I also, after*
 “ *I heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus,*
 “ *and love to all the saints.* Again, is it
 “ likely, he would refer those, to whom
 “ he had *declared all the counsel of God,* so
 “ long together, to a bare report of him-
 “ self? Eph. iii. 2. *If ye have heard of the*
 “ *dispensation of the grace of God, which is*
 “ *given me to you-ward.* Or would he sup-
 “ pose, that they who had heard him preach
 “ a thousand times would need to *understand*
 “ *his knowledge in the mystery of Christ,* from
 “ what he said in a few verses, or even the
 “ whole, of that short epistle? Eph. iii. 4.”

To the like purpose another learned au-
 thor, whom likewise I shall transcribe here,
 that this objection may appear in all its
 strength: “ He (o) intimateth, that he had
 “ only heard of their faith in Christ, and of
 “ their love to all Christians. ch. i. 15. . . .
 “ Again, he not only mentioneth his *bearing*
 “ *of their faith in Christ,* but ch. iii. 1. 2. he
 “ speaks, as if he was dubious, whether
 E e 3 “ they

(o) Dr. Benson's *History of the first planting the Christian Re-*
ligion, Vol. 2. p. 272. first ed. p. 292. 2d. ed.

“ they had heard of the extraordinarie reve-
 “ lations, which he had received from hea-
 “ ven. . . . And verses 3. 4. he intimateth,
 “ that, if they had never heard of these things
 “ before, they might understand them from
 “ the brief hints, which he had given them
 “ in this epistle. Is this like *St. Paul's* stile to
 “ the churches of his own planting? . . . Or
 “ could a few lines, or even a larger epistle
 “ than this, have given them so clear a
 “ knowledge of *St. Paul's* illumination, as
 “ their hearing him a thousand times? For
 “ had he not been among them for the space
 “ of three years, warning every one of them
 “ night and day with tears?”

But this difficulty, if I mistake not, will
 disappear upon farther consideration, and a
 fuller examination of the matter.

First. It appears from the epistle itself,
 that the Christians, to whom it is sent, were
 not unknown to *Paul*, nor they to him : but
 they were well acquainted with each other.

That the Apostle was acquainted with
 these Christians, must, I think, be evident
 to all, who read without prejudice the first
 fourteen verses of the first chapter of this
 epistle. I insist only upon ver. 13. *In whom*
ye also trusted, after that ye heard the word of
truth,

truth, the gospel of your salvation: in whom also after that ye believed, ye were sealed with the holy spirit of promise. How could the Apostle write thus to any, but to such, whose conversion to Christianity he was well acquainted with, and that upon their believing they had received gifts of the Spirit? How could any man write thus to people, whom he had but lately heard of?

There are also many other passages of this epistle, which shew the Apostle's knowledge of the state of these Christians, both before, and after their conversion. Some of which I must select here.

Ch. ii. 1. 2. *And you both be quickened, who were dead in trespasses, and sins: wherein in time past ye walked according to the course of this world. . . . and throughout that chapter to the end.*

Then at ch. iii. 13. *Wherefore I desire, that ye faint not at my tribulation for you, which is your glorie.* That must be said to Christians, of whose tender affection for him he was very sensible: recollecting, it is likely, what had happened at *Miletus*, as related Acts xx. 36. . . 38. And indeed it is throughout an affectionate, as well as instructive, and useful epistle.

424 *The Epistle, inscribed to the Ephesians, Ch. XIII.*

Ch. iv. 20. *But ye have not so learned Christ.* 21. *If so be, or * forasmuch as, ye have heard him, and have been taught the truth as it is in Jesus.* This the Apostle knew very well.

I cannot forbear to recite this place more largely, from ver. 20. to ver. 24. *But ye have not so learned Christ, forasmuch as ye have heard him, and have been instructed in him, as the truth is in Jesus, to * put off, with respect to the former conversation, the old man, which is corrupt according to deceitfull lusts, and to be renewed in the spirit of your mind, and to put on the new man, which is created according to God in righteousness and true holiness.* Certainly these are St. Paul's own converts and disciples. The case of these people resembles that of the *Galatians. ch. iii. 1.* *Before whose eyes Jesus Christ had been evidently set forth crucified among*

* *Si tamen illud audistis:] Si tamen, Graece, siquidem.* Non enim dubitans hoc dicit Apostolus, sed magis rem confirmans, uti post Chrysostomum annotat Theophylactus. Nam et alias interdum vim confirmandi habet conjunctio, *scilicet*, ut secundae ad Thessalon. primo vers. 6. *Est. ad Eph. iv. 21.*

* See Dr. Doddridge upon the place, whose version, in the main, I have here adopted,

among them. But to these Christians, at *Ephesus*, the Apostle expresseth himself with more mildnesse, as was fit, than to the *Galatians*.

Then ver. 30. *And grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye were sealed unto the day of redemption :* or, with which ye were sealed in the day of redemption. These Gentil Christians had received the Spirit. And from whom, I pray, if not from *St. Paul*? And that they had a variety of spiritual gifts, is manifest from ch. v. 18. . . 20.

Ch. v. 8. *For ye were some time darknesse. But now are ye light in the Lord. Walk as children of the light.* Which shews, that the Apostle knew the state of these Christians before, and after their conversion.

And that *St. Paul* was acquainted with them, and they with him, appears to me very evident from ch. vi. 21. 22.

Secondly, at ch. i. 15. are words, upon which an objection has been formed, as we have seen. *Wherefore I also, after I heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus, and love unto all the saints :* that is, according to *Mr. Locke's* paraphrase : “ Wherefore I
“ also here in my confinement having
“ heard

“heard of the continuance of your faith
 “in Christ Jesus, and your love to all the
 “saints.” And in his preface to this epistle
 Mr. *Locke* has these expressions. “Where-
 “fore when he heard, that the *Ephesians*
 “stood firm in the faith, whereby he
 “means their confidence of their title to
 “the privileges and benefits of the gospel,
 “without submission to the law, he thanks
 “God for them.”

Whitby's paraphrase of this verse is to this
 purpose. “Wherefore I also having heard
 “of your stedfast faith in the Lord Jesus,
 “and your encreasing love to all the saints :
 “that is, that the faith and love wrought
 “in you continues stedfast, and aboundeth.”

To the like purpose also (p) *Grotius*,
 whose words I have placed below.

Theodoret's note upon ver. 15. and 16.
 is to this purpose : “Hence some have
 “supposed, that the Apostle wrote this
 “epistle to the *Ephesians*, when he had not
 “yet seen them. But they should consider,
 “that writing to the *Corinthians*, concern-
 “ing

(p) Loquitur autem Paulus de profectu evangelii apud
 Ephesios, ex quo ipse ab illis discesserat. *Grat. in Eph.*
 i. 14.

“ing whom he had received some disagree-
“able information, he says : *It has been re-*
“*lated to me of you, my brethren, by them*
“*which are of the household of Chloe, that*
“*there are contentions among you.* 1 Cor.
“i. 11. As therefore when he had re-
“ceived information of some things dis-
“agreeable, he wrote with grief of mind :
“so when he had received an account of
“things agreeable concerning these *Ephe-*
“*sians*, he bestows commendation. He
“praiseth them, both for their piety and
“for their liberality to the saints. Where-
“upon he also gives thanks to God, the
“author of all good things.”

So that this text was no difficulty at all with *Theodoret*. However, it may be expedient, that I should enlarge somewhat farther.

I observe, then, that *St. Paul* writes in the same manner to *Philemon*, his own convert, whose faith therefore he certainly knew. *Philem.* ver. 4. 5. *I thank my God, making mention of thee always in my prayers : bearing of thy love, and faith, which thou hast toward the Lord Jesus, and toward all saints.* That *Philemon* had been converted to the faith of the gospel by *Paul*, I suppose

pose to be evident from ver. 19. *Albeit I do not say unto thee, how thou owest to me thy own self besides.* So that text (q) has been generally understood. And how it can be interpreted otherwise, I do not conceive.

Whitby's paraphrase is : “ *Albeit I do not say unto thee, how thou owest to me, by whom thou wast converted, even thy own self, or the well being of thy soul, besides.*”

Beausobre and *Lenfant* in their preface to the epistle to *Philemon* express themselves in this manner. “ *Philemon* was a considerable person at *Colosse*, a city of *Pbrygia*. *St. Paul* had converted him, either “ at *Ephesus*, or some other city of *Asia*, “ when he preached the gospel in that “ countrey : or else at *Colosse* itself, in one “ of the journeys, which he had made in “ *Pbrygia*.”

There are some other things to be observed here concerning this person. For in the first verse of that epistle *Paul* calls *Philemon* beloved, and his fellow-laborer. Which, if I am not mistaken, indicate
personal

(q) Ceterum, si ad jus meum redeam, propter sermonem Christi, quem tibi evangelizavi, et Christianus effectus es, teipsum mihi debes. *Hieron. in. ep. ad Philem. T. 4. p. 452.*

personal acquaintance, and imply their having labored together in the service of the gospel, at *Colosse*, or *Ephesus*, or in some other place. And yet *St. Paul* writing to *Philemon* speaks of his *having heard of his faith, and love*.

Still farther, it appears to me highly probable, that *Onesimus*, in whose behalf this epistle was writ, knew *Paul*, before he saw him at *Rome*. He either had seen *Paul* at his master's house at *Colosse*, or else at *Ephesus*, when attending upon his master there. *Paul* was a prisoner at *Rome*, and could not go abroad. *He dwelt in his own hired house, with a soldier that kept him.* Acts xxviii. 16. and 30. It is likely, therefore, that *Onesimus* came first to *Paul*. Being in straits, and knowing *Paul's* benevolent temper, and what civilities he had received from his master, *Philemon*, he might hope for some relief from him. Or, possibly, hearing, that *Paul* was at *Rome*, and recollecting the discourses, which he had heard him make, when attending on *Philemon*, he was touched with remorse for the faults, which he had been guilty of, and came to *Paul* for farther instruction in the things of religion, and for advice and comfort.

comfort. He might also encourage himself with hopes of *Paul's* interceding in his behalf, and obtaining a reconciliation with his master.

Says *Beaufobre* in his preface to the epistle to *Philemon*: "It can hardly be doubted, that the repentance of his fault obliged *Onesimus* to come to *Paul*, whom he knew to be his master's friend. For otherwise, he might have remained unknown at *Rome*."

Philemon then was well known to *Paul*. Nevertheless, at the begining of his epistle to him, he thanks God, *having heard of his love and faith*. The meaning is, he had received information of the continuance of his faith, and of it's bearing good fruit. If *Paul* could write thus to *Philemon*, his convert, friend, and fellow-laborer, he might write in a like manner to other Christians, to whom he was no stranger.

So likewise to the *Colossians* ch. i. 3. 4. *We give thanks to God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, praying always for you: since we heard of your faith in Christ Jesus, and of the love, which ye have to all the saints: that is, having heard of the continuance of your faith, and of the good fruits of it. This he had been assured of*
by

by *Epaphras*, who had come to the Apostle at *Rome*. It is not to be supposed, that *Paul* now first heard of the faith of the *Colossians*, or the *Laodiceans*. I think, that the *Colossians* were *Paul's* own converts, and that the church there had been planted by him. But supposing that to be uncertain, I imagine, it cannot be questioned, that the church there had been planted a good while ago by some of the Apostle's assistants, and fellow-laborers. Consequently, the Apostle did not now first know, and hear of the faith and love of the Christians at *Colosse*. He must have known it before he came to *Rome*, and before he was apprehended at *Jerusalem*. But he had lately received good tidings concerning their steadiness and perseverance from some, who had come from them to him at *Rome*.

St. *Paul*, since his coming to *Rome*, had received from *Tychicus* an account of the state of things at *Ephesus*, which upon the whole was very pleasing. He had received from *Epaphras* a like account of the state of things at *Colosse*, and particularly a good account of the conduct of *Philemon*. For all which he praiseth God in his epistles to them. Indeed it could not but be matter

ter of much joy to the Apostle, to hear of the continued faith of Christians in several places, notwithstanding the many difficulties attending the profession of Christianity, and notwithstanding the discouragement, which his own long captivity might have occasioned in the minds of many.

In these three epistles, to the *Ephesians*, the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*, are the same expressions, near the beginning, *having heard of your faith and love*. And they are all to be understood in a like manner. If these words were to be understood in the epistle to the *Ephesians* of *now first bearing*: it might be as well argued, that the epistle could not be writ to the *Laodiceans*. For, as before intimated, it may be reckoned certain, that before *Paul* came to *Rome* he knew of the faith of the church at *Laodicea*.

Thirdly, in the next place I consider that part of the objection, which is raised from Eph. iii. 2. 3. 4. *If ye have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God, which is given me to you-ward: How that by revelation he made known unto me the mysterie, as I wrote before in a few words: whereby ye may understand*

derstand my knowledge in the mysterie of Christ.

To which part of the objection I answer, that *if ye have heard of the dispensation*, may be rendred, *since*, or *forasmuch as ye have heard*, and what follows. So *Theophylact*, approved by *Whitby* upon the place.

I observe farther. These things are as properly said to the *Ephesians*, as to any other Christians in that countrey, or thereabout. They were all acquainted, and much alike acquainted with them. If such expressions might be used in an epistle to the *Colossians*, or the *Laodiceans*, they might be used also in an epistle to the *Ephesians*. No Gentil Christians, whether converted immediatly by *Paul* himself, or by some of his assistants or fellow-laborers, could be ignorant of it. Nor could *Paul* doubt, whether they knew it. Nevertheless he might judge it proper to hint these things, the more to confirm the instructions, and exhortations, which he sent them, and to secure their steadinesse in the faith and profession of the pure gospel of Christ, as they had been taught. And does he not speak more largely, and more distinctly of this

matter; in his epistle to the *Galatians*, whom none ever denied to be the Apostle's converts? *Gal. i. 11. . . . 20. But I certify you, brethren, γωπίζω δὲ ὑμῖν, that the gospel, which was preached of me, is not after men. . . . For ye have heard of my conversation in time past. . . . But it pleased God . . . to reveal his Son in me. . . . Now the things, which I write unto you, behold, before God, I lye not. These things the Galatians were not ignorant of. But in his epistle he reminds them of them, and in a very solemn manner.*

The writers, from whom this objection was taken, speak of the *Ephesians* having heard the Apostle *preach a thousand times*, and ask : *Could the Apostle suppose, that they who had heard him preach a thousand times, could need to understand his knowledge of the mysterie of Christ, from what he said in a few verses, or even from the whole of this short epistle?* But those expressions appear to me very strong, and even unjustifiable : though they are warranted by (r) *Mill*, whom those learned men follow.

He

(r) *Quomodo convenit hoc civibus Ephesinis, qui sexcenties praedicantem audierant Apostolum? Mill. Prol. num. 72.*

He and they seem to conceive of the Christians at *Ephesus*, as a small society, consisting perhaps of two or three hundred people. And they speak, as if they supposed that church to have been formed and planted before the Apostle came thither, or very soon after his arrival: and that they had all heard him preach once at least every day of the three years, that he resided in that city. How else could they think, that the Christians at *Ephesus* had heard *Paul* preach *a thousand times*? He says indeed to their Elders at Miletus, Acts xx. 31. that *for the space of three years he had not ceased to warn every one night and day with tears*. For certain, the Apostle was very diligent in making converts, and in confirming the believers there. But conversions were made gradually, not all at once, as is evident from the account, which we have of *Paul's* preaching at *Ephesus*, in the xix. chapter of the Acts. Where also St. *Luke* observes, at ver. 10. *that all they which dwelt in Asia, heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks*. This may lead us to think, that *Paul* had many converts in several parts of *Asia*. Some of these may have seen, and heard the Apostle at *Ephesus*, once only, or

however not often. To all these the epistle to the *Ephesians* was sent. The inscription, to the saints and faithful at *Ephesus*, the chief city, would comprehend all the believers in the country. And some converts may have been made, since the Apostle was there. However, though it should be allowed, that most of these Christians had heard the Apostle often, the reading of this epistle might be of great use to them. For it is an excellent epistle, as all must allow, and not inferior to the most admired of St. *Paul's* writings.

I have now considered the first, and, as I suppose, the principal objection.

2. Obj. It is said, "that in all St. *Paul's* epistles, writ to particular churches, there is some peculiar case mentioned, respecting each church, that seems to be one reason at least for writing to them. Which is also observed in his epistle to the *Colossians*, whom he there cautions against the worship of angels."

I answer. That is a just observation. And the same may be found in *Jerome's* preface to his Commentarie upon this epistle to
the

the *Ephesians*. Where he says: As (s) the blessed *John* in the Revelation, writing to the seven churches, either reproves the faults, or commends the virtues of each: so likewise, he says, does the Apostle *Paul* in his epistles. And he supposeth this epistle to have been writ to the Christians at *Ephesus*, and to be suited to their case.

But we are not to expect, that even an Apostle should censure, and find fault, where there is little, or no occasion for it. It becomes him to own the good temper and conduct of any church, that deserves it. And what church could be so likely to deserve mild treatment, as the church at *Ephesus*, which had had so much of the Apostle's presence, and of his favorite disciple *Timothie*, upon whom he has bestowed so great commendations? 1 Cor. iv. 17. xvi. 16. Philip. ii. 19. . . 22. and who undoubtedly

F f 3

would

(s) Necessè est enim, ut juxta diversitates locorum, et temporum, et hominum, quibus scriptae sunt, diversas et causas, et argumenta, et origines habeant. Et quomodo beatus Johannes in Apocalypsi sua ad septem scribens ecclesias, in unaquaque earum specialia vel vitia reprehendit, vel virtutes probat: ita et sanctus Apostolus Paulus per singulas ecclesias vulneribus medetur illatis, nec ad instar imperiti Medici uno collyrio omnium oculos vult curare. *Pr. i. in ep. ad Eph. T. 4. p. 320.*

would be faithful and diligent, where he was sent occasionally only, or where he was stationed for a while. This was the case here. I suppose, that *Timothie* was left at *Ephesus*, when *Paul* went up to *Jerusalem*. There he continued, till after the Apostle's arrival at *Rome*, and after the writing of this epistle to the *Ephesians*, of which we are now speaking. Moreover, as is well known, when *Paul* was going up to *Jerusalem*, he delivered, at *Miletus*, a most pathetic charge to the Elders of that church, and to *Timothie*, with them, as I suppose. See Acts xx. 17. . . 38. particularly 28. . . 31. Which certainly must have excited all to faithfulness and zeal in the performance of their duty. Indeed he says: *I know, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock.* There would arise men, that would endeavour to devour, and lay waste the church of *Ephesus*. Nevertheless, I think, these earnest warnings of the Apostle must have been of great use to defeat the designs of such evil men: so that they should not be able to do much mischief there, at least for some while.

And says the Apostle ver. 31. *Watch, and remember, that by the space of three years I*
ceased

ceased not to warn every one of you night and day with tears. This the Apostle does again very suitably in this epistle, in divers places, which cannot be overlooked, nor passed by us here. So Eph. iv. 1. *I therefore the prisoner of the Lord beseech you, that ye walk worthie of the vocation, wherewith ye are called.* . . . ver. 17. *This I say therefore, and testify in the Lord, that ye henceforth walk not as other Gentils,* and what follows. So also ch. v. 1. . . . And vi. 12. . . . 17. These warnings have, probably, a respect to temptations, which the *Ephesians* might meet with from their Heathen and idolatrous neighbours, and from deceitfull and artfull men among Christians. To such things as these *Jerome* supposed *Paul* to have an eye in this (t) epistle.

And these written warnings, as well as
F f 4 others,

(t) Scribebat ad Ephesios Dianam colentes. . . . Scribebat autem ad metropolim Asiae civitatem, in qua ita idololatria . . . et artium magicarum praestigiae viguerant. . . . Haec idcirco universa replicavimus, ut ostenderemus, quare Apostolus in hac vel potissimum epistola obscuros sensus, et ignota seculis sacramenta congererit: et de sanctarum contrariarumque virtutum docuerit potestate: qui sint daemones, quid valeant. . . . De quibus ait: *Non est nobis pugna adversum carnem et sanguinem, sed adversum principatus et potestates.* . . . Hieron. ubi supr. p. 322.

others, seem to have had a good effect. The church of *Ephesus* appears to have behaved commendably for a good while. This may be collected from Rev. ii. 1. . . . 6. And *Ignatius* at the begining of his epistle to them says ch. vi. " And indeed *Onesimus* himself does greatly commend your good order in God : that you all live according to truth, and that no heresie dwells among you." And ch. ix. " I have heard of some, who have passed by you, having perverse doctrine : whom you did not suffer to sow among you." And to the like purpose in other places of that epistle.

3. Obj. It is said, " that *Timothie's* name " is not mentioned in the introduction to " this epistle : though it is found in the be- " gining of the epistle to the *Colossians*, and " that to *Philemon*. Hence it is argued, " that *Timothie* was unknown to all, or most " of the church, to whom this epistle was " written. Consequently it was not sent to " the church of *Ephesus*, where *Timothie* " was well known."

In answer to which I would say, *first*, that I can see no reason, why St. *Paul* should scruple to put *Timothie's* name at the begining of an epistle, writ to Christians, with whom

whom *Timothie* was not personally acquainted. *Secondly*. There can be no reason to doubt, that *Timothie* was as well known to the Christians at *Laodicea*, as at *Colosse*. *Thirdly*. Therefore there must have been some other reason for omitting the name of *Timothie* at the begining of this epistle. *Fourthly*, that reason presently offers, and probably was this, that at writing this epistle *Timothie* was not with the Apostle at *Rome*. I think, *Timothie* was now at *Ephesus*. How then could his name be placed at the begining of an epistle writ to the *Ephesians* from *Rome*?

4. Obj. "At *Philippi* the church was
" settled with fixed officers, before the A-
" postle wrote. And therefore he directs
" his epistle not only to the Christians in ge-
" neral there, but to the Bishops and Dea-
" cons. But there is no such thing here :
" though the church of *Ephesus* had evident-
" ly such officers, before the writing of this
" epistle. See Acts xx. 17."

To which I answer, that there must have been fixed officers in many churches, beside that at *Philippi*. Says St. *Luke* in his account of the peregrination of *Paul* and *Barnabas* in several places: Acts xiv. 21...23. they return-
ed

ed again to Lystra, and Iconium, and Antioch, [in Pisidia,] confirming the souls of the disciples. . . . And when they had ordained them Elders in every church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they had believed. Says Beza upon this text : “ In (u) every church they ordained Elders, that is, Pastors and Deacons, and other officers.” From what is said here *Luke* leads us to conclude, what was done elsewhere. It was not needful to mention such things every where. But very probably there were church-officers fixed in all the churches in no long time after they were planted, and particularly, in *Greece*, and *Macedonia*. From *St. Paul's* epistle we know, that there were Bishops and Deacons at *Philippi*, though not mentioned by *St. Luke* in his historie of the Apostle's preaching there. *Acts* xvi. 12. . . . 40. *Beza* concludes from *1 Theff. v. 27.* that (b) there were

(u) *Per singulas ecclesias, κατ' ἐκκλησίας.* Sic antea dixit *Lucas κατ' οἶκον*, pro *domatim Presbyteros*, id est, Pastores et Diaconos, et alios ecclesiae gubernationi praefectos. Hic enim, ut alibi saepe, generaliter accipitur Presbyteri nomen. *Bez. in Act. xiv. 23.*

(b) *Vos οἱ μαρτυροῦντες.* Hinc apparet, mitti solitas fuisse apostolicas

were fixed officers in the church at *Thessalonica*. And it is very manifest from ver. 12. and 13. of that chapter: *And we beseech you, brethren, to know them which labor among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you: and to esleem them very highly in love, for their work's sake.* St. Paul says to *Titus* ch. i. 5. *For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain Elders in every city, as I appointed thee.* Whenever Paul was in Crete, it is reasonable to think, that he made there but a short stay. Nevertheless before he left that island, he had given orders to *Titus*, to ordain Elders in every city. And not long after coming thence he wrote to him an epistle with particular directions for that purpose. Before Paul left *Ephesus*, it is likely, that he had ordained several Elders in that city, and in the district of *Asia*. And yet he afterwards wrote to *Timothie*, giving him directions concerning the qualifications of such persons, that he might make a farther supplie, where

cas epistolas presbyterio, ad quod haec abjuratio et praecedentes duo versiculi proprie pertineant: quoniam alioquin absurdum esset haec petitio, si ad totum ecclesiae coetum referretur. *Bez. in 1 Th. v. 27.*

where it was wanting. Which must induce us to think, that the Apostle was not willing, that any churches should be destitute of fit guides and instructors for any long time after they had been planted. *St. Paul's epistle to the Galatians* is inscribed *to the churches of Galatia*, without any mention of Bishops, or Deacons. And yet there must have been there men of that character. *St. Peter* writes to the Christians in *Galatia*, and other neighboring parts, and sends an admonition to such. 1 Pet. v. 1. 2. *The Elders which are among you I exhort. . . . Feed the flock of God, which is among you.* And from the epistle itself it may be concluded with certainty, that there were fixed officers in the churches of *Galatia*, though they are not mentioned in the inscription. For so *St. Paul* directs ch. vi. 6. *Let him that is taught in the word, communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things.* There is no notice taken of any Elders in the inscriptions of either of *St. Paul's* epistles to the *Corinthians*. And yet there must have been such officers in that church. *Clement of Rome*, in the first centurie, in his epistle to the *Corinthians*, speaking of the Apostles, says, ch. xlii. "They went abroad, publishing

“ lishing the good tidings, that the kingdom
 “ of God was at hand. And preaching in
 “ countreys and cities, they (c) appointed
 “ their first-fruits, having first proved them
 “ by the Spirit, to be Bishops and Deacons
 “ of those who should believe.” And after-
 wards in ch. xlv. “ Wherefore we cannot
 “ think, that they may be justly cast out of
 “ their ministrie, who (d) were either ap-
 “ pointed by them, [*the Apostles,*] or were
 “ afterwards chosen by other eminent men
 “ with the consent of the whole church.”
 . . . So writes *Clement*. And thus he bears
 witnesse to two things. *First*, that this was
 the general method of the Apostles. And,
secondly, he assures us, particularly, that
 this had been done in the church of *Co-*
rinth. About which, I suppose, he could
 not be mistaken. There must therefore
 have been fixed officers in the churches of
Theffalonica, *Corinth*, and *Galatia* : though
St. Paul has taken no particular notice of
 them in the inscriptions of his epistles. It
 cannot then be any just exception against
 this

(c) . . . καθίσασαν τὰς ἀρχαὶς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν.

(d) Τὸς δὲν κατασταθέντας ὑπ’ ἐκείνων. κ. λ.

this epistle having been sent to the *Ephesians*, because their Bishops or Elders are not named. For it was a common thing with the Apostle, to inscribe his epistles to the churches, or saints, of such a place, without any particular notice of their officers, though there were men of that character among them. I have mentioned above St. *Paul's* epistles to the *Thessalonians*, the *Corinthians*, and the *Galatians*. To them might be added the epistle to the *Colossians*. For that also is inscribed *to the saints, and faithfull brethren, in Christ, which are at Colosse*. And yet there must have been Elders in that church. One is mentioned, whose name is *Archippus*. However, it is in this manner only. Col. iv. 17. *And say to Archippus : Take heed to the ministrie, which thou hast received of the Lord, that thou fulfill it*. Nor does the Apostle send his salutations to the church in *Laodicea* by him, in particular, but by the saints, to whom the epistle is inscribed. See ch. iv. 15. Once more, *Timothie*, as is generally allowed, was at *Ephesus* when St. *Paul* wrote to him those two epistles, which we have. When the first was writ, there must have been some Elders in that church, and yet more at the time of writing the second.

cond. It cannot be contested by any. Nevertheless no salutations are sent to the Elders of *Ephesus*, in either of those epistles.

5. Obj. "If this epistle was sent to the "*Ephesians*, it may be thought very strange, "that St. *Paul* should not salute any of his "friends there, where he had many friends "and acquaintance."

But I cannot perceive this to be of much weight. There is no epistle of St. *Paul* that has so many salutations in it, as that to the *Romans*, whom he had never seen. There are no salutations of particular persons at the end of the first epistle to *Timothie*, who was then at *Ephesus*. I suppose *Timothie* to have been in the same city likewise, when *Paul* wrote his second epistle to him. Nevertheless there are in it no particular salutations, except those in ch. iv. 19. Salute *Prisca* and *Aquila*, and the household of *Onesiphorus*. *Tychicus* went with this epistle to the *Ephesians*. And what is said ch. vi. 21. . . 23. would be instead of many particular salutations, and fully answer the end. For *Tychicus* is there required to *make known unto them all things, and to comfort their hearts*. I might add, that no particular persons are saluted by name in either of the epistles to the *Thessalonians*,

lonians, nor in the epistle to the *Galatians*, nor in that to *Titus*, excepting only *Titus* himself, to whom the epistle is sent.

6. Obj. Mr. *Wetstein* says, “ that (e) the “ epistle to the *Ephesians* is writ to Gentils, “ whereas the church at *Ephesus* consisted “ chiefly of Jews.”

I answer: That the epistle, called to the *Ephesians*, is writ to Gentils, or to such chiefly, is allowed, and is very manifest. And it seems to me very evident, from the historie, which we have of St. *Paul's* preaching at *Ephesus*, in the book of the *Acts*, that the Apostle's chief harvest there was from among the Gentils. For a while indeed he taught in the synagogue. But the behaviour of the Jews obliged him to withdraw. Whereupon he preached in another place. And I should conclude from what is in *Acts* xix. 17. . . . 40. that the Apostle had many more converts there among Gentils, than Jews.

7. Obj.

(e) Imprimis verò observandum, cum ecclesia Ephesina ex Judæis potissimum collecta fuerit. *Act.* xviii. 19. 21. 24. 25. xix. 9. 10. 17. xx. 21. *Apoc.* ii. 2. 7. eam, ad quam hæc epistola scripta est, non ex Judæis, sed ex Gentilibus fuisse congregatam. *Wetst. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 239.*

7. Obj. "It is argued from Col. iv. 16. that this epistle was sent to the *Laodiceans*. For St. Paul says there: *And when this epistle is read among you, or has been read among you, cause, that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans: and that ye likewise read the epistle from Laodicea.* Hereby, as is argued, must be intended the epistle called to the *Ephesians*, but really sent to the *Laodiceans*. For says Mill (*f*), and likewise others after him, this epistle called to the *Ephesians*, and the epistle to the *Colossians*, were both sent by the same messenger, and at the same time."

To which I answer, that if the epistle, called to the *Ephesians*, be the epistle intended by the Apostle, and sent at the same time with that to the *Colossians*; it is manifest, that it was not sent to the *Laodiceans*. This may be concluded from what is said to the *Colossians* ch. iv. 15. *Salute the brethren, which are in Laodicea, and Nymphas, and the church which is in his house.* This plainly shews, that

(*f*) Quidni igitur scripta fuerit ad Laodicenses? . . . Sane per eundem nuncium missa erat haec epistola, per quem delata erat epistola ad Colossenses, Tychicum scilicet, nec non eodem tempore. *Mill, Prol. num. 74.*

that there was not now any epistle sent to the *Laodiceans*. If there had, there would have been no occasion for the Apostle to send this order to the *Colossians*. For it is impossible to write a letter to any persons, or societies, without saluting them, or doing somewhat that is equivalent. And it is manifest, that in the epistle inscribed to the *Ephesians*, the Christians, to whom it is sent, are saluted. Particularly ch. i. 1. 2. and vi. 21. 22. 23. This has appeared evident to learned men of the first rank, and different communions. So (g) *Baronius*, and *Tillemont*. This last says, "that (b) since St. Paul orders the *Colossians* to salute those of *Laodicea* in his name; " it is a certain sign, that he did not write to " them at that time." *Du Pin* says: " If (i) " St.

(g) Sane nullam eidem tabellario ad Laodicenses fuisse a Paulo datam epistolam, satis constat: dum in ea, quam tum scripsit ad Colossenses, salutari mandat eos, qui Laodiceae essent fideles, sic dicens: *Salutate fratres, qui sunt Laodiceae*. . . . Libentius igitur Chrysostomo ac Theodoro inhaeremus, quam ceteris, ut nulla a Paulo scripta fuerit epistola ad Laodicenses. *Baron. ann. 60. num. xiii.*

(b) Et puisque S. Paul ordonne aux Colossiens de saluer de sa part ceux de Laodicée, c'est un marque indubitable, qu'il ne leur écrivit point alors. *S. Paul. note 69. Mem. Ec. Tom. i.*

(i) En effet, si saint Paul, eût écrit en même temps aux
Laodi-

“ St. Paul had writ at the same time to the
 “ *Laodiceans*, he would not have charged
 “ the *Colossians* to salute them in his name.”
 And James Basnage: “ St (k) Paul did
 “ not then write to the *Laodiceans*, since he
 “ salutes them in his letter to the church of
 “ *Colosse*.” The acute and honest Mr. Peirce,
 though much inclined to Mill’s opinion con-
 cerning this epistle, saw this difficulty, and
 owned it. “ But I have one objection,
 “ says he, which I cannot so easily get
 “ over. And were it not for that, I might
 “ fully agree with him. My objection is,
 “ that it seems highly improbable, that St.
 “ Paul should send his salutations to the
 “ *Laodiceans*, in the epistle, which he
 “ wrote to the *Colossians*, in case he had sent
 “ that epistle to the *Laodiceans* by the same
 “ messenger.”

I am not unwilling to allow, that the
 epistle spoken of in the later part of verse
 16. of ch. iv. to the *Colossians*, is our epistle
 to the *Ephesians*: and that ye likewise read

G g 2

the

Laodicéens, il n’ eut pas chargé les Colossiens de les saluer de
 sa part. *Diff. Prel.* 1 2. ch. 2. §. viii.

(k) S. Paul n’écrivoit pas alors aux Laodicéens, puisqu’il
 leur fait une salutation dans la lettre à l’église de Colosse.
Basn. Hist. de l’Eglise. l. 8. ch. 3. n. iii.

the epistle from Laodicea : that is, the epistle, that is to come to you from *Laodicea*. So the place is rendered in the French Testament of *Lenfant* and *Beaufobre* : and (1) cause likewise to be read among you that which the *Laodiceans* will send to you. And their note is this : “ that (m) from *Laodicea* : “ that is to say, that which will come to you “ from *Laodicea*. For the original has that “ sense.”

If the epistle to the *Ephesians* was sent away by the Apostle at the same time with those to the *Colossians*, and to *Philemon* : I should think, that *Tychicus* went first to *Ephesus*, and there left the epistle to the *Ephesians*, with an order, that it should be forwarded to *Laodicea*, and so to *Colosse*. *Tychicus* having left that letter at *Ephesus*, went forward with *Onesimus* to *Colosse* : where they delivered the epistles to *Philemon*, and the *Colossians*. And then I suppose, that *Tychicus*'s commission was at an end. He had no order to go to *Laodicea*. The Apostle's
saluta-

(1) Et faites lire de même parmi vous celle que les *Laodiciens* vous enverront.

(m) Gr. celle de *Laodicée*, c'est à dire, celle qui vous viendra de *Laodicée*. Car l'original a ce sens là.

salutations to the brethren at *Laodicea* were to be taken care of by the *Colossians*.

But I rather think, as before shewn, that the epistle to the *Ephesians* was writ very soon after the Apostle's arrival at *Rome*, and then carried to *Ephesus* by *Tychicus*. And when *Tychicus* went now in the second year of the Apostle's imprisonment, with these epistles to the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*; he came ashore at *Ephesus*, and there left express orders, that the epistle, formerly sent to them, should be soon forwarded by them to *Laodicea*, and so to *Colosse*. Having so done, he went, as before said, with *Onesimus* to *Colosse*: where they joyned in delivering the letters to *Philemon*, and the church at *Colosse*. And now the commission of *Tychicus* was at an end.

8. Obj. Once more, it is observed by learned men, "that *Marcion* said, this " epistle was writ to the *Laodiceans*, or called this the epistle to the *Laodiceans*."

To which I answer, *first*. *Humphry Hody* denied, that (n) *Marcion* reckoned the

G g 3

epistle

(n) Decem tantum epistolas Pauli, cum particulis quibusdam ex epistola ad Laod. . . . recepit Marcion haereticus, quas librum Apostolicum inscripsit. De ceteris scripturarum libris nullum agnovit, praeter Evangeliam Lucae, illudque

epistle called to the *Ephesians* to have been writ to the *Laodiceans*. And indeed this point seems to lye in great obscurity. Nor is it said by any one, beside *Tertullian*, that I know of.

Secondly. Suppose *Marcion* to have affirmed this, what does it avail? *Grotius* says, in his preface to this epistle, "*Marcion* (o) called this the epistle to the *Laodiceans*. Nor was there any reason, why he should falsify in this matter." And to the like purpose others. To which I answer: Catholic writers of the same time, and since, call this the epistle to the *Ephesians*. Nor is there any reason, why they should falsify.

Yea

que mutilatum. Epistolas etiam, quas recepit Paulinas, mutilavit vitiavitque. . . . Simonius in Hist. Crit. N. T. cap. 15. contendit, Marcionem, nullam epist. ad Laod. recepisse, sed epistolam ad Ephesios, falso inscripisse ad Laodiceños. Sed in hoc Epiphanius falli non potuit, qui in Apostolico Marcionis recenset epistolam ad Ephesios loco 7.mo, et illam ad Laodiceños loco xi.mo, πρὸς λαοδικεῖς ια'. Ideo vero dicit Tertullianus contra Marc. l. 5. cap. xi. *Epistolam quam nos ad Ephesios praescriptam habemus, a Marcione ad Laodiceños inscriptam fuisse*, quoniam locus, qui ex Epistola ad Laodiceños a Marcione adductus est, in epistola ad Ephesios extabat. Quod etiam observat Epiphanius. *Hod. de Bibl. text. origin. p. 664.*

(o) *Marcion* hanc epistolam vocat ad Laodiceñses, ex fide, ut credibile est, ecclesiae Laodiceñsis. Nam cur in ea mentiretur, nihil erat causae. *Grot. Pr. in ep. ad Eph.*

Yea the same is said, not only by all Catholics, but likewise by all heretics in general. Let *Marcion's* credit be ever so good, this is a sufficient answer. For what interest had the Catholics to falsify here? If *Marcion* said, this epistle was sent to the *Laodiceans*, he must have been mistaken. We are assured, that what he said is false, from the unanimous testimonie of numerous men, who had no interest to deceive, and could not be deceived.

But *Marcion's* credit is very little in such an affair as this. The same writer, who speaks of *Marcion's* (p) calling this the epistle to the *Laodiceans*, I mean *Tertullian*, does also let us know, that (q) *Marcion* rejected the epistles of *Paul* to *Timothie*, and *Titus*. And chargeth (r) him with altering the text of scripture, openly employing a knife, not a stile. And speaks particularly

G g 4

of

(p) *Tertull. adv. Marc. l. 5. cap. xi.*

(q) *Miror tamen, quum ad unum hominem literas factas receperit, quid ad Timotheum duas, et unam ad Titum, de ecclesiastico statu compositas, recusaverit. Adv. Marcion. l. 5. cap. ult. p. 615.*

(r) *Marcion enim exerce et palam machaera, non filio usus est: quoniam ad materiam suam caedem scripturarum confecit. Id. de Praesc. Haer. cap. 38.*

of his leaving out texts (*s*) in the epistle to the *Romans*. Will any say, that *Marcion* had good reason for so doing? or that all this was owing to his superior care and judgement above other Christians? For my own part, I think not. And if he said, that this epistle was writ to the *Laodiceans*, not to the *Ephesians*, he was mistaken at least. He had not, and could not have any good reason for it.

Mill (*t*) and other learned men after him, in defending their opinion concerning this epistle, magnify the care and exactness of *Marcion*. "He flourished, they say, in the
"beginning of the second century, and
"lived at *Sinope*, in *Paphlagonia*, which
"was in *Asia Minor*, as well as *Laodicea*.
"And he affirmed, that the epistle called to
"the *Ephesians* was actually an epistle to the
"Laodiceans. Most probably, he had heard
"so from such as knew the fact, and could
"inform him: or rather, had seen some of
"the

(*s*) Quantas autem foveas in ista vel maxime epistola *Marcion* fecerit, auferendo quae voluit, de nostri instrumenti integritate patebit. *Adv. Marc. l. 5. cap. 13.*

(*t*) Sed omnino verisimile est, *Marcionem*, qui *Sinope* aliquamdiu agebat, haud procul a *Laodicea*, sive ex popularium suorum traditione, seu etiam auctoritate exemplarium quorundam, hanc epistolam tanquam ad *Laodicensis* scriptam citasse. *Mill. Prol. num. 78.*

“ the manuscripts, which gave it that
“ title.”

But all this is said without any ground. Such suppositions are easily made. But there is no proof of the truth of them. If there is any credit to be given to what the ancients say of *Marcion*, he must have been a very rash, and arbitrarie, and careless critic: provided he at all deserve the name of a critic. And if he thought, this epistle to have been writ to the *Laodiceans*; it is likely, that he took up that opinion without much inquirie, or examination, and without sufficient reason, and perhaps, without assigning any.

Jerome (u) speaking of Marcion and Basilides,

(u) Licet non sint digni fide, qui fidem primam irritam fecerunt, Marcionem loquor et Basilidem, et omnes haereticos, qui vetus laniant testamentum: tamen eos aliqua ex parte ferremus, si saltem in novo continerent manus suas, et non auderent Christi. . . . vel Evangelistas violare, vel Apostolos. Nunc vero cum Evangelia ejus Christi dissipaverint, et Apostolorum epistolas non Apostolorum Christi fecerunt esse, sed proprias, miror, quomodo sibi Christianorum nomen audeant vindicare. Ut enim de ceteris epistolis taceam, de quibus quicquid contrarium suo dogmati viderant, eraserunt, nonnullas integras repudiandas crediderunt: ad Timotheum videlicet utramque, ad Hebraeos, et ad Titum, quam nunc conamur exponere. Et si quidem redderent causas, cur eas Apostoli non putarent, tentaremus aliquid respondere, et forsitan satisfacere lectori. Nunc vero quum
haeretica

slides, who, as he says, were not friendly to the Old Testament, and altered the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament, and rejected both the epistles to *Timothie*, and the epistle to *Titus*, and that to the *Hebrews*, he adds: "And if they assigned any reasons, why they did not reckon these epistles to be the Apostle's, we should endeavor to make an answer, and perhaps might say, what would be sufficient to satisfy the reader. But now since with heretical authority they pronounce, and say, this epistle is *Paul's*, and that not: they may be fitly answered on the side of truth, in the same manner, that they assert falsehood."

And *Tertullian* having spoken of *Marcion's* admitting the genuineness of the epistle to *Philemon*, adds: "Nevertheless (x) I wonder, that when he receives an epistle to one man, he should reject two to *Timothie*, and one to *Titus*, which treat of
" the

haeretica auctoritate pronuncient, et dicant: Illa epistola Pauli est, haec non est; ea auctoritate refelli se pro veritate intelligant, qua ipsi non erubescunt falsa simulare. *Hieron. Pr. in ep. ad Tit. T. 4. p. 407.*

(x) Miror tamen, quum ad unum hominem literas factas receperit, quid ad Timotheum duas, et unam ad Titum, de ecclesiastico statu compositas, recusaverit. Adfectavit, opinor, etiam numerum epistolarum interpolare. *Adv. Marcion. l. 5. cap. ult. p. 615. D.*

“ the government of the Church. He had
“ a mind, I suppose, to alter also the num-
“ ber of the epistles :” that is, as he had
done of the Gospels. Which passage, as
the reader may remember, was quoted by us
(y) formerly.

It hence appears, that *Tertullian* knew not,
why *Marcion* rejected the epistles to *Timo-
thie*, and *Titus*. He knew, that *Marcion* re-
jected those three epistles. But he was not
aware of his having assigned any reasons for
so doing. Which shews, I think, that *Mar-
cion* acted arbitrarily in such things, as these.

Indeed *Tertullian* speaking of *Marcion*’s
attempting, or designing to alter the inscrip-
tion of the epistle to the *Ephesians* useth this
expression : “ as if he had made more than
common inquiries about it.” But I suppose
Tertullian to speak by way of ironie, and far-
cassically : not allowing *Marcion* uncommon
diligence and exactnesse, but intimating, that
a man, who acted thus, should be very carefull
to be rightly informed.

All this I have said in the way of a gene-
ral answer to the argument, taken from the
sup-

(y) See *Pol. ii. p. 596.* See also here, *p. 455. not. (q).*

(z) See below. note (b).

supposed opinion of *Marcion*. I will now more particularly inquire, what *Marcion* said, and did, and what might be the ground and reason of his opinion, and conduct. And I think, there are but two writers, from whom we can receive any information, *Tertullian*, and *Epiphanius*.

The first is *Tertullian*. “I (*a*) pass by “another epistle, says he, which we have “inscribed to the *Ephesians*, but heretics to “the *Laodiceans*.”

Afterwards: “According (*b*) to the true, “testimonie of the church, we suppose that “epistle to have been sent to the *Ephesians*. “But *Marcion* once had a mind to alter the “title, as if he had made a very diligent in- “quire into that matter. But the title is “of no importance, since the Apostle wrote “to all, when he wrote to some.”

I hope, I have rightly translated the word *gestiit*. I think, it meaneth, *had a mind to*,

OR

(*a*) Praeterio hic, et de alia epistola, quam nos ad Ephesios praescriptam habemus, haeretici vero ad Laodiceanos. *Tertull. adv. Marcion. l. 5. cap. xi.*

(*b*) Ecclesiae quidem veritate epistolam istam ad Ephesios habemus emissam, non ad Laodiceanos. Sed Marcion ei titulum aliquando interpolare gestiit, quasi et in illo diligentissimus exploratur. Nihil autem de titulo interest, cum ad omnes Apostolus scripserit, dum ad singulos. *Ib. cap. xvii. p. 607.*

or *was inclined*, or shewed an inclination so to do.

By these passages of *Tertullian* we are assured, *first*, that this epistle, which was in the hands of catholic Christians, was, in all it's copies, inscribed to the *Ephesians*. And *Tertullian* was persuaded, that it was the true testimonie, or tradition of the Church from the begining.

Secondly, in the first of these passages *Tertullian* says, that heretics called this the epistle to the *Laodiceans* : by *heretics* meaning, as I suppose, *Marcion*, and his followers.

Thirdly, *Tertullian* says, that once, or upon some occasion, *Marcion* had a mind to alter the title of this epistle.

Here it may be questioned, whether by *title* be meant what we call a running title, affixed to the epistle, or the inscription, which makes a part of the epistle, and is inserted at the begining of it. I rather think, this last to be intended. But take it either way, *Tertullian* supposed, that *Marcion* had in his copies the same title, or inscription with the Catholics, that is, *to the Ephesians*, or *at Ephesus*. Nor does *Tertullian* say, that *Marcion* ever inserted the inscription, *to the Laodiceans*, in any of his copies. It seems to me, that he did not.

Con-

Consequently, what *Tertullian* says, is, that *Marcion*, and his followers, sometimes at least, called this the epistle to the *Laodiceans*, and perhaps quoted it by that title. But he had not in his copies any title, or inscription, different from that of the Catholics. *Marcion* gave out, that the epistle, called by the Catholics *to the Ephesians*, was writ to the *Laodiceans*. He affirmed this to be right, and that the Catholics were in the wrong in calling it an epistle to the *Ephesians*. For he was persuaded, it was writ to the *Laodiceans*.

I think, this is the most, that is said by *Tertullian*, or that can be collected from him. Yea, it seems to me, that I have in a strong manner represented the whole of what is said by him.

I now proceed to *Epiphanius*, who says,
 “ that (c) *Marcion* received only ten epistles
 “ of *Paul*. They are these. The first is
 “ that to the *Galatians*, the second is the
 “ first to the *Corinthians*, the third is the se-
 “ cond to the *Corinthians*, the fourth that to
 “ *Romans*,

(c) Ἐχει δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὰς παρ’ αὐτῷ τῷ ἁγίῳ ἀποστόλῃ δέκα, αἷς μάλιστα κέχρηται. . . . Αἱ δὲ ἐπιστολαὶ αἱ παρ’ αὐτῷ λεγόμεναι εἰσι πρώτη μὲν πρὸς γαλάτας . . . ἐβδόμη πρὸς ἐφεσίους, ὀγδοὴ πρὸς κολασσεῖς. . . . Ἐχει δὲ καὶ πρὸς λαοδικεῖας λεγομένης μέρος. *Epiph. H. 42. num. ix. p. 310.*

“ *Romans*, the fifth is the first to the *Tbessa-*
 “ *lonians*, the sixth the second to the *Tbessa-*
 “ *lonians*, the seventh is that to the *Ephesi-*
 “ *ans*, the eighth to the *Colossians*, the ninth
 “ to *Philemon*, the tenth to the *Philippians*.
 “ He has also some parts of an epistle to
 “ the *Laodiceans*.” So *Epiphanius*.

It is well known, that *Marcion* had an
 Evangelicon, and an Apostolicon, or a Gos-
 pel and an Apostle. In the former, as is
 generally said, he had St. *Luke's* Gospel
 only. But concerning the truth of that ac-
 count I make no inquiries now. Our con-
 cern at present is with St. *Paul's* epistles
 only. And *Epiphanius* here expressly says,
 that *Marcion* received ten, and placed them
 in the order, in which they are rehearsed
 above. He likewise says, that *Marcion* had
some parts of an epistle to the Laodiceans. And
 he quotes, as from him, those words, which
 are in Eph. iv. 5. 6. after this manner: *One*
Lord, one faith, one baptism, one Christ, one
God and Father of all, who is above all, and
through all, and in all. Having so done, he
 says: “ Nor (*d*) did the unhappy *Marcion*
 think

(d) Ὁ γὰρ ἔδοξε τῷ ἐλεηνότατῳ μαρκίῳ ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς
 ἑφεσίους ταύτην τὴν μαρτυρίαν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τῆς πρὸς λαοδικεάς,
 τῆς μὴ ἔσης ἐν τῷ ἀποστόλῳ. H. 42. p. 375. in.

think fit to take that passage from the epistle to the *Ephesians*, but from the epistle to the *Laodiceans*, which is not the Apostle's."

This account of *Epiphanius* led *H. Hody* to say, that *Marcion* received eleven epistles of *St. Paul*. *James Basnage* was of the same opinion. He says : " It (*e*) has been " conjectured by some, that *Marcion* con- " founded the epistle to the *Laodiceans* with " that to the *Ephesians*. . . . But that con- " jecture cannot be maintained. For he dis- " tinguished two epistles of *St. Paul*, one to " the *Ephesians*, and another to the *Laodice- " ans*. And *Epiphanius* reproacheth him, " because he rather chose to take his pas- " sage from the epistle to the *Laodiceans*, " which was not *Paul's*, than from the epis- " tle to the *Ephesians*, where are the same " words."

And indeed, I apprehend, that if we had *E-
piphanius*

(*e*) *Marcion* l'a citée. Il en tiroit même quelque preuve pour son heresie. On a conjecturé, qu'il la confondoit avec celle des *Ephesiens*. . . . Mais cette conjecture ne peut se soutenir, parceque *Marcion* distinguoit deux lettres de *S. Paul*, l'une aux *Ephesiens*, l'autre aux *Laodicéens*. Et *S. Epiphane* lui fait une espece de reproche, de ce qu'il a mieux aimé tirer son passage de l'epistre aux *Laodicéens*, qui n'étoit point de *S. Paul*, que de celle aux *Ephesiens*, dans laquelle on trouvoit les mesmes paroles. *J. Basn. Hist. de l'Egl. l. 8. ch. 3. num. iii.*

Epiphanius only, many might be of the same opinion. But comparing him and *Tertulian*, and examining carefully the whole article of *Epiphanius*, I think, it must appear more probable, that *Marcion* did sometimes quote the epistle to the *Ephesians*, as if it had been sent to the *Laodiceans*. Nor can I perceive any good reason to think, that any letter to the *Laodiceans* was forged so early, as the time of *Marcion*.

And now I would observe, that *Epiphanius* seems to have been well acquainted with *Marcion's* Apostolicon. For he (f) had read his writings, and composed a treatise against him, called Scholion, or Scholia, which he inserted, somewhat altered, in his article of the *Marcionites*, in his large work, called the *Panarium*, which we have.

Having observed this, I say, that from *Epiphanius* it appears, that in *Marcion's* Apostolicon the epistle to the *Ephesians* was entitled, and inscribed to them, as it was in the copies of the Catholics. And all the difference between the Catholics and him, upon this head, was, that he sometimes

(f) Ελέυσομαι δὲ εἰς τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα. κ. λ. H. 42. cap. ix. p. 309. C.

quoted this epistle, as writ to the *Laodiceans*. *Epiphanius*, who had seen *Marcion's* Apostolicon, found therein ten epistles, all inscribed, as in the Catholic copies. One of which, and the seventh in order, was that to the *Ephesians*. However, in one place of *Marcion's* works, and (g) but one, he had seen a passage of the epistle to the *Ephesians* quoted, as from an epistle to the *Laodiceans*.

Some such thing, as this, induced *Tertullian*, a man of a violent temper, to say: "I pass by another epistle, which we have inscribed to the *Ephesians*, but heretics to the *Laodiceans*." However, from *Tertullian*, as before shewn, it appears, that in *Marcion's* copies of this epistle it had the same title, as in the Catholic copies, and that he never altered the inscription. And thus *Tertullian* and *Epiphanius* agree. For from this last likewise we plainly perceive, that in *Marcion's* Apostolicon was the epistle to the *Ephesians*: but not exactly in the same order, as with the Catholics.

And thus, if I mistake not, *Marcion* himself,

(g) Praeter hanc tamen ad Ephesios epistolam, putat Epiphanius, recepta etiam esse a Marcione epistolae ad Laodicenses fragmentum. Ἐχει δὲ καὶ τῆς πρὸς λαοδικεῖας μέρη, inquit. E quibus tamen unicum illud a se productum reperit. Jac. Usser. Diff. de Ep. ad Laod.

himself confirms the common reading at the begining of this epistle. And this recompense we have of our diligent inquisition into this affair. So it often happens. Opposition made to truth is the means of establishing it.

This opinion of the case may be farther justified by two considerations, which perhaps deserve to be mentioned. One is, that there is no notice taken of this affair by any other writers, beside *Tertullian* and *Epiphanius*. *Jerome*, and many others, who often speak of *Marcion*, and his principles, say nothing of it. It is therefore very probable, that his inscription of the epistle to the *Ephesians* was the same, as in the catholic copies. If not, his alteration here, as well as in other places, would have been observed. The other is, that all those, called heretics, so far as we know, had this epistle inscribed to the *Ephesians*. The *Manicheans* agreed with *Marcion* in divers of his peculiarities. Nevertheless, in their copies this epistle was inscribed to the *Ephesians*. This has appeared from the quotations of it in the writings of *Fausus*, and *Secundin*, formerly (b) taken notice of.

H h 2

But

(b) See vol. vi. p. 336. 343. 409.

468. *The Epistle, inscribed to the Ephesians, Ch. XIII.*

But though the inscription of this epistle was the same in *Marcion's*, as in the catholic copies; he sometimes quoted it, as an epistle to the *Laodiceans*, and was of opinion, that it was writ to them. We are therefore now to inquire into the ground and reason of this opinion.

Pamelius (*i*) in his notes upon *Tertullian*, as cited by *A.B. Usher*, (for I have not his edition at hand :) conjectured, that the words of Col. iv. 16. were the occasion of this opinion of *Marcion*. So likewise says (*k*) *Estius*.

It is very probable, that those words (*l*) gave occasion to the forging an epistle to the *Laodiceans*. *Theodore*t, not far from the beginning of the fifth centurie, as formerly (*m*) cited by us, says in his commentarie upon that

(*i*) *Jacobus Pamelius*, Annot. 259. in lib. 5. *Tertulliani* adv. *Marcionem*. *Fortassis*, inquit, *occasionem dedit Marcioni hujus tituli huic epistolae imponendi, quod legisset, Col. iv. Salutate fratres, &c. Usher. Diff. de Ep. ad Laod.*

(*k*) *Sciendum praeterea est, Marcionem, antiquum haereticum, occasione praesentis loci, epistolae ad Ephesios scriptae titulum mutasse, inscribendo eam ad Laodiceanos, tanquam ea non ad illos, sed ad hos scripta esset. &c. Est. ad Col. iv. 16.*

(*l*) *Et eam, quae Laodicensium est, vos legatis.]* Horum verborum occasione abusus quispiam concinnavit, atque evulgavit epistolam quandam velut a Paulo scriptam ad Laodicensis, *Est. in Col. iv. 16.*

(*m*) *See Vol. xi. p. 88.*

that text: "Some have hence imagined, " that the Apostle had also writ to the *Laodiceans*, and they have forged such an epistle. Nevertheless the Apostle does not say, *the epistle to the Laodiceans*, but from *Laodicea*."

That is the unvaried reading of this text in all the copies of the New Testament, and in all ancient Greek * writers. And I have suspected, that the epistle to the *Laodiceans* was forged by a Latin: and that the Latin version of that text gave occasion to it. *Fabricius* (n) in the introduction to his ac-

H h 3

count

* As some proof of this, I allege the note of *Theophylact* upon this verse. "Which is the epistle from *Laodicea*? It is the first to *Timothie*. For that was writ from *Laodicea*. However some say, it is an epistle, which the *Laodiceans* had sent to *Paul*. But what good the reading such an epistle could do them, I do not know." Τίς δὲ ἦν ἡ ἐκ λαοδικείας; ἡ πρὸς τιμόθεον πρώτη. "Αὐτὴ γὰρ ἐκ λαοδικείας ἐγράφη. Τινὲς δὲ φασιν, ὅτι ἦν οἱ λαοδικεῖς πάλῳ ἐπέσειλαν. Ἀλλ' ἐκ οὗτοιο τίς ἂν ἐκείνης εἶδει αὐτοῖς πρὸς βελτίωσιν. *Theoph.* in loc. *Tom.* 2. p. 676.

(n) Quamquam hunc Pauli locum neutiquam puto testimonium perhibere commentitiae ad Laodicenses epistolae, tamen quia ex illo, sive Latina potius ejus versione ambigua ansam cepit quisquis illam supposuit, non fuit a me omittendus. Lectionis nulla est in codicibus Graecis differentia. Omnes enim, quantum scio, habent τὴν ἐκ λαοδικείας. Ita et Syrus, et Arabs, et interpretes Graeci, Chrysostomus, Theodoritus, Theophylactus, Oecumenius. Neque Latinus aliter legisse videtur, etsi vertit: *Eam, quae Laodicensium est.* *Fabr.* *Cod. Apocr. N. T. Tom.* 2. p. 853.

count of the epistle to the *Laodiceans* speaks to the same purpose.

In like manner I have for a good while been of opinion, that the Latin version of this text was the occasion of the mistaken notion of *Marcion*.

When I formerly gave an account of a *Latin* Commentarie upon thirteen of *St Paul's* epistles, writ about 380. I took notice, that (o) the translation of Col. iv. 16. followed by that author, was, *that ye read the epistle of the Laodiceans*. Et vos ut eam, quae est Laodicensium, legatis. The same translation is in the Commentarie of *Pelagius*. Et ea, quae Laodicensium est, vobis legatur. Which affords good proof, that this was the translation, which was in the Latin version, then in use.

I also observed in the same place, that this expression is ambiguous. It may import an epistle, writ by the *Laodiceans* : or an epistle, which was their property, as having been writ to them. I have since found the same observation in (p) *Eftius*.
So

(o) See Vol. ix. p. 368.

(p) Fefellit tamen hos omnes ambiguitas verborum hujus loci, prout Latine leguntur. Quod enim dicitur, *eam quae Laodicensium est*, intelligi potest, vel ad quos, vel a quibus epistola scripta sit aut missa. Et quidem priori modo Latini fere

So *Secundin*, the *Manichean*, in his letter to *Augustin*, by the *epistle of the Ephesians* plainly means the *epistle to the Ephesians*. For his words are these: "Against (*q*) whom the " Apostle in the *epistle of the Ephesians*, says, " he wrestled. For he says: *We wrestle not " against flesh and bloud, but against princi-* " *palities, and powers.*" Eph. vi. 12.

It is not unlikely, that a good number of the *Latins*, by the *epistle of the Laodiceans*, in Col. iv. 16. understood an *epistle writ to the Laodiceans*. And *Marcion* also, having before him the Latin version, and understanding the words in that sense, concluded, that *St. Paul* had writ an *epistle to the Laodiceans*. At length he was brought to think, that the *epistle*, intended by *St. Paul*, was the *epistle*, inscribed to the *Ephesians*. Accordingly, he sometimes quoted it with that title. This will be the more readily admitted, when it is considered, that *Marcion* made use of the Latin

H h 4

version

fere intellexerunt. Sed hanc ambiguitatem dissolvit Graeca lectio, quae sic habet: *Et eam quae ex Laodicea est, ut et vos legatis. Est ad loc.*

(*q*) Contra quos se Apostolus in Ephesiorum epistola certamen subiisse fatetur. Dicit enim, se non contra carnem et sanguinem habere certamen, sed adversus principes et potestates. *Secundin. ep. ad Aug. §. i. Ap. Aug. T. 8.*

version of St. Paul's epistles. So say both (r) Mill, and (s) Wetstein.

And now, I suppose, it may appear, what regard is due to the authority of *Marcion* in this matter.

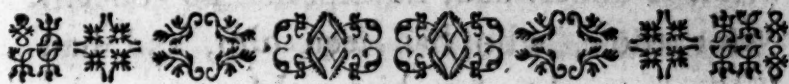
Thus I have at large stated, and considered all the material objections against the common reading at the begining of this epistle, the epistle to the *Ephesians*. And the solutions that have been offered, seem to me satisfactorie. And from the universal agreement of all copies in that reading, and the unanimous testimonie of all Christian writers for the first twelve centuries, it appears, that there is no more reason to doubt of the genuinneffe of the inscription of the epistle to the *Ephesians*, than of any other of the acknowledged epistles of St. Paul.

This disquisition has been of greater length, than might have been wished. But if any things have been set in a truer light, than usual, it will be acceptable to some.

(r) *Vid. Mill. Proleg. num. 378. et 606.*

(s) Ac principio, quod a nemine adhuc animadversum puto, (nisi a J. Millio Prol. 378. suboluisse putemus,) comperimus, Marcionis codices N. T. non ex Graecis exemplaribus, sed ex versione Latina veteri sive Italica conflatos fuisse, &c. *Wetsten. Prolegom. p. 79.*

C H A P.



C H A P. XIV.

*That the Churches of Colosse and Laodicea
were planted by the Apostle Paul.*

IT has been of late a prevailing opinion, that the Christians at *Colosse*, and *Laodicea*, were not converted by *St. Paul*. But to me it seems, that there is no good ground for it.

Says *Theodoret* in his Argument of the epistle to the *Colossians*, prefixed to his Commentarie : “ Some (a) are of opinion, that
“ when the divine Apostle wrote this epistle,
“ he had not seen the *Colossians*. And they
“ endeavor to support their opinion by these
“ words : *For I would that ye should know,*
“ *what great conflict I have for you, and for*
“ *them at Laodicea, and for as many as have*
“ *not seen my face in the flesh.* ch. ii. 1. But
“ they should consider, that the meaning of
“ the words is this : *I have not only a concern*
“ *for you : but I have also great concern for*
“ *those that have not seen me.* And if he be
“ not

(a) *Theod. Tom. 3. p. 342. 343.*

“ not so understood, he expresses no concern
 “ for those, who had seen him, and had
 “ been taught by him. Moreover the
 “ blessed *Luke* says in the Acts : *And after*
 “ *he had spent some time there, he departed,*
 “ *and went over all the countrey of Galatia,*
 “ *and Phrygia, in order.* ch. xviii. 23. *Colosse*
 “ is a city of *Phrygia*. And *Laodicea*, the
 “ metropolis of the countrey, is not far
 “ from it. How was it possible for him to
 “ be in *Phrygia*, and not carry the gospel to
 “ those places ? And in another place the
 “ blessed *Luke* says : *Now when they had gone*
 “ *throughout Phrygia, and the region of Ga-*
 “ *latia, and were forbidden of the Holy Ghost*
 “ *to preach the word in Asia.*” ch. xvi. 6.

So says that very learned writer in the fifth
 centurie. And those observations have led
 me to divers considerations, inducing me to
 think, that the churches of *Colosse* and *Laodicea*
 had been planted by *Paul*, and that
 the Christians there were his converts.

1. The Apostle was twice in *Phrygia*, in
 which were *Colosse*, *Laodicea* and *Hierapolis*.
 Says St. *Luke* in the places already cited by
Theodoret Acts xvi. 6. *Now when they had gone*
throughout Phrygia, and the region of Gala-
tia, and were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to
preach

preach the word in Asia. And ch. xviii. 23. *And after he had spent some time there, [at Antioch,] he departed, and went over all the countreys of Galatia and Phrygia in order, strengthening the brethren.* To which St. Luke refers again ch. xix. 1. *Paul having passed through the upper coasts, came to Ephesus.* St. Luke does not mention any cities by name. But there is no reason to say, that he was not at *Colosse*. It is much more reasonable to think, that in one, or rather, in both those journeys, *Paul* was at *Colosse*, *Laodicea*, and *Hierapolis*, chief cities of *Phrygia*. For, as *Theodoret* says, how was it possible, that he should be in that country, yea and go through it, and all over it, and not be in the chief places of it? St. Luke has not particularly named any places in *Galatia*, in which *Paul* was. But he must have been in several towns and cities in that country, where he planted divers churches. Gal. i. 1. 2. So was he, in like manner, in several cities of *Phrygia*: where also, in all probability, he planted divers churches.

This argument alone appears to me conclusive. The accounts, which St. *Luke* has given of St. *Paul's* journeys in *Phrygia*, are sufficient to assure us, that he preached the
gospel

The Churches of Colosse and Laodicea Ch. XIV.

gospel there, and made converts, and planted churches in the chief cities.

2. Ch. i. ver. 6. *Which bringeth forth fruit, as it does also in you, since the day ye heard it, and knew the grace of God in truth.* Of this St. Paul was assured. Which renders it probable, that he was their father, or first teacher. He speaks to the like purpose several times. ch. ii. 6. 7. See likewise ch. i. 23. St. Paul knew, that they had been rightly taught the gospel. Nothing more remained, but that they should persevere in the faith, which they had received, and act according to it.

3. *Epaphras* was not their first instructor in the doctrine of the gospel. This may be concluded from ch. i. 7. the words following those quoted above from ver. 6. *As (b) ye have also learned of Epaphras, our dear fellow-servant, who is for you a faithful minister of Christ.* The *Colossians* had been taught by *Epaphras*. But he was not their first instructor. However, he had faithfully taught them, agreeably to the instructions, which they had received.

Theodoret (c) upon ch. i. 7. 8. well observes, "that the Apostle bestows many
" com-

(b) Καθὼς καὶ ἐμάθετε ἀπὸ ἐπαφρᾶ,

(c) *Ubi supra.* p. 344.

“ commendations upon *Epaphras*, calling
“ him *beloved*, and *fellow-servant*, and a
“ *faithfull minister of Christ*, that the *Colos-*
“ *sians* might have the greater regard for
“ him.” If *Epaphras* had first taught the
Colossians the Christian doctrine, I think, the
Apostle, when recommending him to their
esteem, and regard, would have added, *by*
whom ye believed, or *by whom ye were brought*
to the fellowship of the gospel, or somewhat
else, to the like purpose. That would have
been a great addition to what is said at ver. 7.
before cited, and to what is said of him. ch.
iv. 12. 13. *Epaphras, who is one of you, a*
servant of Christ, saluteth you, always labor-
ing fervently for you in prayers, that ye may
stand perfect and compleat in all the will of
God. For I bear him record, that he has a
great zeal for you, and for them that are in
Laodicea, and them in Hierapolis.

Epaphras, who is one of you. Would the
Apostle have used such an expression con-
cerning *Epaphras*, if the church of *Colosse*
had been founded by him? Impossible. He
says as much of *Onesimus*, who was but just
converted, and was now first going to appear
among them as a Christian. His words at
ver. 9. of the same chapter are: *Onesimus, a*
faithful,

faithful, and beloved brother, who is one of you.

I imagine, that *St. Paul* does the more enlarge at ver. 12. 13. upon the affectionate concern, which *Epaphras* had for these Christians, being apprehensive of some prejudices taken up against him, that might obstruct his usefulness among them. For he had brought the Apostle an account of the state of this church. Which, though it was true and faithful, was not in all respects agreeable : as is concluded by Commentators from what *St. Paul* writes in the second chapter of this epistle.

4. *St. Paul* does in effect, or even expressly, say, that himself had dispensed the gospel to these *Colossians*, ch. i. 21. . . . 25. I shall recite here a large part of that context. ver. 23. . . . 25. *If ye continue in the faith, grounded and settled, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel, which ye have heard . . . whereof I Paul am made a minister. Who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh, for his bodies sake, which is the Church. Whereof I am made a minister, according to the dispensation of God, which is given to me for you, to fulfill,*

fulfill, or fully to preach, the word of God.
And what follows to ver. 29.

St. *Paul* therefore had been the *minister of God* to these *Colossians*, as well as to other Gentils. Nor would they have been excluded, but included among other Gentils, to whom he had *preached the word*, if Commentators had not been misled by a false interpretation of those words in ch. ii. 1. 2. of which we have already seen *Theodoret's* account, and shall say more presently. Those words having been misinterpreted, a wrong turn has been given to these likewise.

5. *Chrysostom* in his preface to the epistle to the *Romans* speaks to this purpose: " I (*d*)
" see the Apostle writing to the *Romans* and
" the *Colossians*, upon the same things indeed,
" but not in the same manner. To them he
" writes with much mildness, as when he
" says. . . . Rom. xiv. 1. 2. To the *Colossi-*
" *ans* he does not so speak of the same
" things, but with greater freedom. *If*
" therefore, says he, *ye be dead with Christ*
" *from the rudiments of the world.* . . and what
" follows.

(*d*) "Όταν γὰρ ἴδω ῥωμαίοις καὶ κολοσσαεῦσιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
μὲν ἐπισέλλοντα, οὐχ' ὁμοίως δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις
μὲν μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς συγκρατάσεως. . . . Κολοσσαεῦσι δὲ
οὐχ' ἔτι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ μετὰ πλείονος παρρησίας. κ. λ.
Prooem. in ep. ad Rom. T. 9. p. 427.

The Churches of Colosse and Laodicea Ch. XIV.

“ follows. ch. ii. 20. . . 23.” Does not this observation lead us to think, that the *Colossians* were the Apostle's own converts, to whom a different addresse from that used toward others might be very proper? And there are other passages of this epistle, beside that alleged by *Chrysostom*, which might be taken notice of, as confirming the same observation.

6. Ch. ii. 6. 7. *As ye have therefore received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk ye in him: grounded, and built up in him, and established in the faith, as ye have been taught, abounding therein with thanksgiving.* Certainly these exhortations of the Apostle are the more proper, and forcible, supposing the *Colossians* to have been first taught and instructed by him. Nor had he any occasion to be more particular. They knew, who had taught them. But I think that in this, or some other of the places, where he reminds the *Colossians* of what they had heard, and had been taught, if those instructions had been received from another, different from himself, that would have appeared in the expressions made use of by him. In short, if they were converted by the Apostle, there could not, possibly, arise
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in his mind a doubt, whether they remembered, who had been their first teacher, and who were his fellow-laborers, who had accompanied him in his journeys, when he was in their countrey. And therefore there was no need to remind them of himself more expressly, than he has done. The thing is supposed all along.

7. The presence of *Epaphras* with *Paul* at *Rome* is an argument, that the *Colossians* had personal acquaintance with the Apostle. Indeed *Grotius* upon ch. i. 7. says, "that *Epaphras* is the same as *Epaphroditus*, mentioned in the epistle to the *Philippians*." But *Beausobre* well observes upon the same place: "This may be the same name with *Epaphroditus*. Philip. ii. 25. But it is not probable, that it is the same person. St. *Paul* had sent *Epaphroditus* to *Philippi*. But *Epaphras* was still at *Rome*. And there is reason to think, that he was a prisoner there. See *Philem.* ver. 23." If *Epaphras* was sent to *Rome* by the *Colossians* to inquire after *Paul's* welfare, as may be concluded from ch. iv. 7. 8. that token of respect for the Apostle is a good argument of personal acquaintance. And it is allowed, that *Epaphras* had brought St. *Paul* a particular account of the state of af-

saith in this church. Which is another argument, that they were his converts.

8. Ch. i. 8. *Who also declared unto us your love in the spirit* : that is, says (e) Grotius, "how you love us on account of the Holy Spirit given to you." Or, as Peirce : "Who also declared unto me the love you bear to me upon a spiritual account." Or, as Whitby : "Your spiritual and affectionate love to me, wrought in you by the Spirit, whose fruit is love." All thus understanding it of their love of the Apostle, and rightly, as seems to me. Nothing else can be meant by it. For before, at ver. 4. he had spoken of *their love to all the saints*. This I take to be another good proof of personal acquaintance. And the place is agreeable to what he writes to the *Thessalonians*, allowed by all to be the Apostle's converts. 1 Thess. iii. 6. *But now when Timothie came from you unto us, and brought us good tidings of your faith and charity* : [that is the same with Col. i. 4. *Since we heard of your faith in Christ Jesus, and of your love to all the saints* :] and that ye have good remembrance of us always.

9. Ch. iii. 16. *Let the word of Christ dwell in*

(e) Quomodo nos diligatis propter Spiritum Sanctum Vobis datum. Grot. in loc.

Ch. XIV. were planted by St. Paul.

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in you richly in all wisdom, teaching, and admonishing one another, in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord. This shews, that the Colossians were endowed with spiritual gifts. And from whom could they receive them, but from St. Paul? Apostles (f) only are allowed to have had the power and privilege of conveying spiritual gifts to other Christians. This text therefore has been a difficulty with such as have supposed, that Paul never was at Colosse. But now that difficulty is removed.

10. Ch. ii. 1. 2. For I would, that ye knew, what great conflict I have for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh: that their hearts might be comforted. This quick change of persons upon the mention of such as had not seen the Apostle's face, seems to imply, that the Colossians, to whom he is writing, had seen him. For if the Colossians had been among those who had not seen him, he would have expressed himself

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(f) "Though several of the Christians had spiritual gifts, and miraculous powers, none but Apostles could confer upon others such gifts and powers." Dr. Benson, upon the Acts. Vol. i. p. 157. first ed. p. 162. 2d. ed. In like manner other Commentators. And see Acts ch. viii. 5. . . . 25.

in this manner. *I would that ye knew, what great conflict I have for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh, that your hearts might be comforted.* But upon the mention of such as had not seen him, he says: *that their hearts might be comforted.* And having finished his testimonie of concern for such as had not seen his face, he returns to the *Colossians*, to whom he was writing, and says ver. 4. *And this I say, lest any man should beguile you with enticing words.*

Theodoret, beside what he had said in the preface to this epistle, which has been already transcribed, speaks again to this purpose in his paraphrase of ch. ii. 1. 2. “ I
“ would have you be persuaded of my great
“ concern for you, and for the *Laodiceans* :
“ and not only for you and the *Laodiceans*,
“ but likewise for all who have not seen me.
“ And (g) that this is his meaning, appears
“ from what follows : *that their hearts may*
“ *be comforted.* He does not say *your*, but
“ *their* : that is, of such as had not seen
“ him.”

II. Ch.

(g) “Οτι δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν διάνοιαν ἔρηται,
καὶ τὰ ἐπαγόμενα δηλοῖ ἵνα παρακληθῶσιν αἱ καρδίαι αὐτῶν.
Ὅτι οὐκ ἔπερ ὑμῶν, ἀλλ’ αὐτῶν, τῶν μὴ ἐπὶ τεθεσμένων.
Theod. ib. p. 350. 351.

11. Ch. ii. 5. *For though I be absent in the flesh, yet am I with you in the spirit, joying, and beholding your order, and the steadfastnesse of your faith in Christ.* It is here implied, if I am not mistaken, that the Apostle had been with them, and had been present in the assemblie of the believers at Colosse.

12. What is said ch. iv. 7. 8. 9. *All my state shall Tychicus declare unto you, and the rest,* best suits the supposition of personal acquaintance, as before hinted. Indeed, I think it to be full proof, that Paul was acquainted with them, and they with him.

13. The salutations in ver. 10. 11. 14. from *Aristarchus, Mark, Luke, Demas*, suppose, the *Colossians* to have been well acquainted with St. Paul's fellow-travellers, and fellow-laborers. And *Timothie's* name is in the salutation at the begining of the epistle. Consequently, the *Colossians* were not unknown to the Apostle, nor unacquainted with him. And the like salutations are also in the epistle to *Philemon*, an inhabitant of Colosse.

14. Ch. iv. 15. *Salute the brethren, which are in Laodicea, and Nymphas, and the church, which is in his house. ver. 17. And say to Archippus :*

chippus: Take heed to the ministrie, which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfill it. This shews, that Paul was well acquainted with the state of the churches in *Colosse* and *Laodicea*. And it affords an argument, that he had been in that countrey, and particularly, at *Laodicea*. He salutes the brethren there, and *Nymphas* by name, and the church in his house. "It (*b*) is probable, says *Theodoret*, that he was one of the faithful in *Laodicea*, who had made his house a church, adorning it with piety." As for *Archippus*, the same *Theodoret* says, "That (*i*) some had supposed him to have been minister at *Laodicea*. But, says he, the epistle to *Philemon* shews, that he dwelled at *Colosse*, where *Philemon* was." See *Philem.* ver. 2.

15. Ch. iv. 3. 4. *Withall, praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance, to speak the myserie of Christ, for which I am in bonds: that I may make it manifest, as I ought to speak.* And ver. 18. *Remember my bonds.* Such demands may be made of strangers. But they are most properly made of friends and acquaintance.

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(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 363.

(*i*) Τινες ἔφασαν, τὸν λαοδικείας γεγενησθαι διδασκαλόν.
κ. λ. *Ibid.*

In a word, the whole tenour of this epistle shews, that the Apostle is not writing to strangers, but to acquaintance, disciples, and converts.

16. Finally, an argument may be taken from the epistle to *Philemon*, an inhabitant of *Colosse*, sent at the same time with this to the *Colossians*.

From ver. 19. of the epistle to *Philemon*, I suppose it to be evident, that he had been converted to Christianity by St. Paul. Indeed this might be done at some other place. But it may as well have been done at home.

And St. Paul's acquaintance with *Philemon*, and the Christians at *Colosse*, may be inferred from several things in that epistle. At ver. 2. he salutes *Apphia* by name, probably, wife of *Philemon*: and *Archippus*, probably, Pastor at *Colosse*, at least an Elder in that church: who, as before observed, is also mentioned Col. iv. 17. Once more, at ver. 22. St. Paul desires *Philemon*, to prepare him a lodging. Whence I conclude, that Paul had been at *Colosse* before.

We might argue also from the characters of *Philemon* and *Archippus*, in the first two verses of the same epistle. The former the Apostle calls his fellow-laborer, and the other
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his *fellow-soldier*. Which expressions imply personal acquaintance, and that they had labored with him in the service of the gospel in some place. And what place can be so likely, as *Colosse*? There are many, of whom St. Paul speaks in his epistles, as his *fellow-laborers*, or *fellow-belpers*, or *fellow-soldiers*: concerning whom it may be made appear, that he and they had labored together in some one place. And why then should these two be exceptions? Yea, it may be reckoned not improbable, that *Archippus* had been ordained by St. Paul himself an Elder at *Colosse*. Whether *Philemon* likewise was an Elder there, I do not say: though he may have been so.

From all these considerations it appears to me very probable, that the church of *Colosse* had been planted by the Apostle Paul, and that the Christians there were his friends, disciples, and converts. And if the Christians at *Colosse* were his converts, it may be argued, that so likewise were the Christians at *Laodicea*, and *Hierapolis*. None of which places were far asunder.

The End of the Second Volume of the Supplement.